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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-88-207* *26 October 1988*

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## Increase in U.S. Trade Viewed as Favorable

*AU2010150288 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 19 Oct 88 p 3*

[Yordan Yordanov report: "Mutual Striving for Cooperation"]

[Text] The Bulgarian-American Trade and Economic Council (BATEC) has a relatively short history, but the first fruits of its work provide some hope that a good start has been made in expanding, further deepening, and enriching our mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of the economy and our trade exchange.

I am profoundly convinced, said Comrade Todor Zhivkov at BATEC's first session, that the artificial barriers that reduced the trade between our countries to symbolic figures will gradually be broken down. We hold a high opinion of the authority of the United States and its vast scientific and technical potential, said our top party and state leader, and want to develop normal, active economic and trading relations.

The first steps in this direction confirm his words. The exchange of goods is increasing in both directions, but at the same time it is generally asserted that favorable opportunities exist for furthering this exchange, applying new contemporary forms, and setting up joint enterprises and associations. Agreements have been reached on cooperation in biotechnologies, the chemical and food industries, and electronics.

The high degree of interest shown by U.S. business circles may also be attributed to the positive changes in the Bulgarian economy, which create favorable conditions for developing our trading and economic links. The words of Frank Popoff, president of the great U.S. chemical concern Dow Chemical, should be taken in the same context: "Opportunities for expanding cooperation do exist, and they should be seized quickly."

The exchange of delegations between our two countries at different levels in recent years also reflects new positive trends in international affairs. These trends result from the ceaseless efforts of the countries of the socialist community, Bulgaria included, to establish relations of trust and cooperation in the interest of detente and East-West dialogue, in the name of what mankind holds most dear—the preservation of peace.

## Belgian Economic Delegation Visits

### Arrives 24 Oct

*AU2410210088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 24 Oct 88*

[Text] At the Bulgarian Government's invitation, a Belgian economic delegation arrived in Sofia tonight. The delegation is headed by Prince Albert, honorary chairman of the Belgian Foreign Trade Service.

The delegation includes Robert Urbain, minister of external economic relations, as well as over 40 representatives of business circles in Belgium.

Prior to the departure of the delegation from Brussels, Minister Robert Urbain made the following statement to the BTA correspondent in the Belgian capital:

I expect to sign an agreement in Sofia on the mutual encouragement of trade relations between our two countries. Minister Robert Urbain added: The present development of political relations on an international scale will result in an expansion of economic relations. The atmosphere of general detente is appropriate for the expansion of relations in all spheres, he stressed.

### Meets With Lukanov

*AU2510160588 Sofia BTA in English 1431 GMT 25 Oct 88*

["A New Page in Bulgaro-Belgian Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—Over 40 prominent representatives of the Belgian business circles arrived in this country to open a new page in Belgian-Bulgarian relations.

The guests, led by Prince Albert, honorary chairman of the Belgian Foreign Trade Bureau, and by Mr Robert Urbain, minister of foreign trade of Belgium, and the delegation of the hosts, headed by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, noted with satisfaction this morning the coincidence of views concerning the state and prospects of bilateral political and economic relations. The latter were both highly estimated and the opinion was expressed that the quantitative accumulations provide possibilities to turn to a new quality of relations. It was stressed that the favourable opportunities, a result of the positive changes in the international situation which brought to the establishment of official relations between the CMEA and EEC, should not be missed.

The aim of the visit is to discuss how to fill this new page of bilateral relations and find more efficient means, methods and ways to reach the mapped out aims. A precondition of the high level of mutual cooperation is the good mutual acquaintance. That was the reason to exchange information on the processes, taking place in the two countries. Mr Andrey Lukanov stressed the reform in the political sphere and in the economic system, the spreading of democracy in all spheres of life, which for the economy of the enterprises means independence of the type of self-management, self-financing and self-support; it also means new rights in the handling of their foreign trade activity. As far as the foreign trade operations of the organizations go, the Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations said that in the light of the new economic reforms one should not talk any more of a state monopoly of Bulgaria's foreign trade, of state

trade. This also means that the latter cannot be used any more as an argument for the introduction from certain Western circles of various restrictions in the trade with the socialist countries, and in particular with Bulgaria.

Mr Andrey Lukanov expressed the satisfaction of the Bulgarian side at the announcement of Mr Robert Urbain of the liberalization of the access of some Bulgarian goods on the Belgian market.

The good juridical basis of the Bulgaro-Belgian relations was improved now with the signing of the agreement for encouragement and protection of investments.

In the Belgian capital, within the framework of the official visit of Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria, which started today, an agreement will be signed on the exemption from double duty, which, in practice will provide a wide range of application of the new modern forms of cooperation, based on the mutual investment activities and on exchange of technologies.

The guests will have a number of meetings with top government and economic officials.

Mr Petur Tanchev, first deputy president of the State Council, received today the leader of the visiting Belgian economic delegation Prince Albert, honorary chairman of the Belgian Bureau of Foreign Trade, and Mr Robert Urbain, foreign trade minister of Belgium.

The sides expressed satisfaction at the development of the traditionally good friendly relations between the two countries and indicated that in the conditions of the new international climate, there are preconditions for their raising to a higher level. The sides discussed the possibilities for further expansion of the political, economic and techno-scientific cooperation between the two countries.

## Gogovski of Macedonia Talks With Stoichkov

*AU2510192088 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 25 Oct 88*

["SR of Macedonia's Head of Government Arrives"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—At the start of his official working visit here, Mr Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, conferred with Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers. The sides expressed willingness for businesslike and constructive talks to pursue a further promotion of relations between Bulgaria and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and between Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Mr Gogovski has on his schedule a number of meetings with senior government officials and business executives.

## Measures for Improved Traffic Safety Announced

*AU2510153688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 88 p 2*

["Instruction Issued by the Council of Ministers: "More Strictness and Severe Control"]

[Text] A considerable amount of financial resources are spent annually on improving traffic organization, safety, and discipline. Despite this, the number of people killed and injured in traffic accidents in 1987 and 1988 is alarming. Over 900 citizens, mainly young people, were killed and 5059 severely injured since the beginning of 1988.

In view of improving the organization, safety, and discipline of traffic the Council of Ministers has adopted an appropriate instruction. According to it, the ministries, administrative departments, economic organizations, and enterprises are obliged to include tasks connected with traffic safety in their plans, and to guarantee the necessary financial resources for the implementation of this task, as well as to improve resolutey internal departmental control.

The functions of oblast and municipal people's councils, which are in charge of organizing overall traffic activities and are responsible for traffic safety, are to be expanded.

In order to guarantee children's safety, the municipal people's councils are expected to complete safety measures for the areas around schools and kindergartens, and to build traffic islands and intersection traffic lights in the vicinity of schools and children's establishments, as well as to organize systematic traffic supervision in streets where children usually walk. It is envisaged to provide bright clothing and light-reflecting devices for students. Additional instruction on traffic regulations within the framework of school programs and outside the school should be introduced.

The chief road administration and the municipal people's councils are in charge of repairing dangerous sections of roads on schedule and ensuring additional safety measures in areas with heavy traffic.

Social organizations and mass media are urged to intensify educational work and public control, as well as to use their influence for enhancing the sense of responsibility of motor vehicle drivers, pedestrians, families, and labor collectives in connection with improving traffic order and discipline. Oblast traffic safety commissions are being established, as well.

The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Central Commission on Traffic Safety are expected to improve resolutely coordination and control throughout overall traffic activities and improve strictness, as well as to apply more severe sanctions against violators of traffic regulations.

## Fojtik Addresses CPSL Session on Restructuring

*AU2410173788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak*
*19 Oct 88 p 2*

[Report on speech by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a session of the CPSL Central Committee in Bratislava on 18 October]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech in the debate, Comrade Jan Fojtik expressed appreciation for the report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium that had been delivered by Comrade Gejza Slapka on the 1st day of the deliberations. The report proceeds from the conclusions of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, and gives them concrete form, with emphasis on the duties of the ideological front at the stage which we have reached in the development of our society—the stage of starting to realize the restructuring of all social spheres, the stage of embarking upon a path of consistent transition from the extensive to the intensive development of our economy, of further democratizing our society, of the greatest possible utilization of the advantages and potential of the socialist social system.

The 10th CPCZ Central Committee session charges the entire ideological front with a number of new and not exactly easy tasks. It was no coincidence that the Presidium report delivered at this session was entitled Developing Ideological Work and Elevating It to the Level of Today's Requirements.

If we are to summarize the conclusions of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, we could say in brief that what is involved, more or less, are the following requirements:

First, to succeed in making people comprehend what restructuring is all about, in making them perceive its necessity and urgency, its character, which is determined by the historical task of perpetuating the revolution under present-day conditions, in having them perceive that it is a complex and long-term process which must be comprehensive and must concern all spheres of society's life, and that our course in implementing it must correspond to the needs of our society's development, as well as to the interests of the entire socialist community, of which we are an integral part.

Second, what is at issue is the need to discover new paths of development and to utilize society's intellectual potential to the fullest possible extent. It is necessary to help create a democratic atmosphere by means of ideological work, one which would stimulate the creative thinking and creativity of all people. Activation of the human factor is the fundamental condition for and the purpose of restructuring. It is necessary to proceed from this in ideological work; this must determine the orientation of the content and the constructive nature of this work.

Third, what is at issue is the need to achieve an organic link, which is so very much called for, between ideological work and the party's political and management work in all spheres. It is necessary to react to real problems in society, which we must resolve in the interest of a socialist future, and to not tolerate any kind of divorce from life, to help people—particularly by focusing on the young generation—to understand the fundamental issues of the present and to adopt a correct, active stance toward them.

In this respect, the report of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session contains numerous suggestions and specifically defined tasks which we will have to address systematically. They concern the economic reform, and an understanding of the need to attain new quality in economic growth. They concern the stimulating nature of the social policy, which must end the handouts and must guide man toward linking his social rights with his obligations toward society. They concern man's civic stance, his place in society, in which the political system must have the features of true socialist political pluralism. And they also concern the entire intellectual sphere—education, science, culture, the arts, and the activity of the media, whose role in society is undergoing unprecedented growth. Last but not least, they also concern our entire foreign policy, the implementation of the new political thinking in international relations.

And last, the fourth issue, is to have ideological work itself reassessed and restructured in accordance with the new needs and requirements. The fundamental principle from which we proceed in this, and which we must consistently implement, is "glasnost," an open policy, and a broad flow of information to the public. This means continuing to base our propaganda on the solid background of social sciences, creative theoretical activity, thorough analyses, trustworthy statistics, and by eliminating dogmatism and doctrinairism, lecturing and sermonizing from it. It means linking propaganda with everyday mass-political and agitation work, conducting frank discussions with the people about all topical problems which bother them and which must be resolved, and developing campaigning work, which has a long tradition in our country but which has unfortunately been forgotten in many places altogether. Only in this way will it be possible to strengthen confidence in the party policy among the broad strata of the people, involve them ever increasingly and ever more effectively in the process of social transformations connected with restructuring, and succeed in having it become their innermost concern.

Comrade Fojtik went on to address problems connected with the perception of restructuring. He stressed that in this we do not see a sort of a campaign or a chain of campaigns for the next 2-3 years. Restructuring is a much more important and truly historical task. It concerns the entire stage of the development in which substantial social changes must occur, literally an entire complex of changes: a radical economic reform, as well

as a fundamental deepening of the democratic nature of the political system, the rational functioning of the bodies of state power, of their apparatuses and, in particular—something that is the key to the successful realization of these changes—the implementation of forms and methods in the party's activity which will guarantee its leading role in society.

Everything will depend on whether the party succeeds in politically guiding society, and not managing it, as is mostly the case today. This does not mean that it should be banished to the periphery of social life or act covertly, as if from behind the scenes. On the contrary, it must be the focal point of society's life. Precisely because of this, its activity has to be aimed at uniting all creative and constructive forces of society for the development of the national economy and of the country's social and intellectual life. It must prevent the continuance and the functioning of various retarding mechanisms, prevent the economy from operating at a loss and from suffering untenably high consumption by production, prevent indifference to the consumer, the systematic malfunctioning of the domestic market and the rhythm of production, breakdowns in supplier-user relations, the trusting to chance in capital investment, the improper utilization of manpower, and so forth. And in no case must the party cover up such shortcomings by propaganda, sidestep them, play them down, or even justify them. The party is responsible for the further development and strengthening of socialism, its future. And to feel this responsibility and to behave accordingly, it needs no informal, oppositional political forces, which would force it into such a position by organizing various demonstrations, and which would even be directed and paid by the West.

When Comrade Fojtik spoke about the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, as discussed in the report of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, he stressed that, together with the adoption of the laws on state enterprises and cooperative organizations, with the introduction of complete economic accountability there must also be the introduction of a completely new style of work in the center. We are interested in improving the activity of the center, not in weakening its role. The principle of democratic centralism is obligatory for us.

Seriously contemplating qualitatively new economic growth, the source of which must be the national income created by intensive valorization [zhodnotenie] of production factors (as the consequence of the transition from the so-called cost mechanism to the valorization mechanism), and not simultaneously perceiving that the introduction of complete economic accountability also presupposes an improvement in the management work of the center and the growth of its role, means not comprehending anything about the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The strategic plans of our economy are increasing, and we must solve them in a very responsible way, while at the same time implementing not only purely economic but first and foremost political and social aspects. The Leninist idea about the priority of politics over economics (politics, which is, naturally, a "concentrated expression of economics") is still topical; it is more valid today than at any time in the past. To reduce the economic reform today to a small number of measures aimed at radical decentralization and at leaving the field to the influence of the law of value would be completely insufficient, and, as shown in practice, even dangerous, especially if the economic reform is connected with the kind of "democratization" that would introduce chaos into the production processes, where it would not be clearly defined why we are introducing self-management in the sphere of enterprises.

The work collectives' bodies of self-management are necessary in order to overcome a certain alienation of the working people in relation to the means of production, toward state ownership. The working people must feel themselves to be true managers. We will achieve this when they have real positions as such managers. This is the main issue now. The fate of the economic reform and the whole of restructuring will depend on the practical solution of this issue. We will not go back to the system of private ownership with its political superstructure—the bourgeois-democratic pluralist society. Yes, this system is undoubtedly capable of forcing the working people to produce exceptional performances, but we know at what price. We are absolutely convinced, however, that on the basis of common property and the superstructure of socialist pluralism corresponding to it, it is possible to form a new type of labor and civic motivation which will be no less effective and, at the same time, will be truly humane. It functions without the exploitation of man and without constant fear for one's existence. These are new issues or such as we can approach in a way that is a little bit different from what has been the case so far. The socialist social ownership will be successful only when it is realized in forms that will make it possible for all working people to dovetail their interests with those of society, those of the state.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Fojtik stressed the need for a comprehensive approach to all issues of ideological work in restructuring our society. We must not drown in formalism, succumb to technocratism, become the victims of overorganization or soullessness, or forget that the most important thing is creativity. This is the fundamental postulate precisely in ideological work. Contemporary man does not take kindly to mere phrases; he is a realist, he demands of us a pragmatic policy, and he wants to be fully informed. We are concerned with his weltanschauung, with the values on which he bases his life, in which he sees the purpose of his life and work. We are concerned with the comprehensive upbringing of a human personality, of a harmoniously developed man who will know how to live in happiness, be able to find his place in life, and develop his potential and abilities.

## News Conference on New Government's Tasks

*AU2410102588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 88 p 1*

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondents Zdenek Hoffmann, Jan Kovarik, and Igor Sirota: "On a News Conference Devoted to the Activity of the CSSR Government; the Second Stage of the Setting Up of State Enterprises"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The appointment of the new CSSR Government has aroused considerable attention both at home and abroad. This is understandable, for the federal government had already resigned for the second time in a fairly short span of time and a new one had been appointed, said Miroslav Pavel, head of the press department of the CSSR Government Presidium Office, in Prague on Tuesday [18 October].

The first task of the deputy premiers and ministers is to take part in drafting the government's policy statement, which they will submit to the deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly in November, with a request to be given the vote of confidence.

The government has set itself the following vital tasks—further accelerating the political and economic reforms, and overcoming the concrete shortcomings which the citizens experience.

M. Pavel said further that the government has been rejuvenated; the average age of its members is 54 years. At the same time, due to their previous political, economic, or scientific experience and knowledge, the new deputy premiers and ministers are without a doubt very well qualified to carry out their functions.

In the first stage of the organizational restructuring of the production-technical, scientific-research, and circulation base of the national economy, we did not succeed in fulfilling all the targets we had expected to attain, said Karel Cap, head of a department of the CSSR Government Presidium Office. The work on its second stage, which will be concluded by transforming all remaining economic organizations into state enterprises effective 1 July 1989, is already in full swing. The exceptions are the agricultural-food complex and trade, in which organizations will already be transformed into state enterprises on 1 January 1989.

K. Cap said that in addition it was decided to also allow the possibility of establishing state enterprises in other sectors, effective 1 January 1989. This could be done in cases where their establishment is well prepared. In view of a certain lack of clarity in price-related issues, the approval of prices by the government within that deadline is possible, provided, of course, that they will be effective on 1 April or 1 July 1989. With this procedure, it will be possible to reduce the risks connected with the conversion of prices and, at the same time, give enterprises certainty regarding their future setup. The spreading of the deadlines also makes it possible for the founders to pay greater attention to the selection of more candidates for the directorships of the newly founded state enterprises.

The second stage makes use of the findings and the experience of the preceding stage. More attention is being paid to individual proposals from enterprises and plants.

The founders, the economic production units, as well as the enterprise sphere have learned from the errors. In a number of cases they have learned that in some large state enterprises it is difficult to itemize in-house management and economic accountability at the appropriate level, and to create scope for entrepreneurship and the activity of in-house units. This has also been seen in the submitted proposals. Thus, for example, in the sector of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, which was criticized the most in the first stage of the organizational restructuring, it is proposed to divide the majority of the economic production units into more state enterprises, ones capable of satisfying people's demands more flexibly. Thus, for example, we reckon on setting up 12 state enterprises from the existing secondary metallurgical production economic production unit, 6 from the PAL [aircraft and automobile parts industry] Kromeriz economic production unit, and 5 from the Tesla consumer electronics economic production unit. [passage omitted]

## Deputies Criticize Planned Law on Joint Ventures

*AU2410154888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 88 p 2*

[Marie Koenigova report: "Suggestions for Changes in the Draft Law"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly are currently appraising the government-sponsored draft laws on agricultural and income tax, on payments to the state budget, and on organizations with a foreign stake in their ownership. [passage omitted]

Of all the draft laws that are to be submitted for approval to the November session of the CSSR Federal Assembly, the most discussion centers on the government-sponsored draft law on enterprises with a foreign stake in their ownership. We have therefore asked Ladislav Mraz, a reporter for the Chamber of Nations' Industry, Transportation, and Trade Committee, for details. "The draft law concerns something new and unusual, and it is therefore understandable that there are big debates about it. [passage omitted] We already have such enterprises, such as Robot, a Czechoslovak-Soviet enterprise; Avex, a joint enterprise formed by Tesla [state electronics firm] and Philips; and various joint hotel ventures. This is a new form of cooperation promoted in the interest of strengthening the Czechoslovak economy and

speeding up its development. In this context, it is necessary to reject the view that, simultaneously with importing technology and capital, we shall be 'importing' ideology as well. The primary aim is to help improve supplies of attractive and high-quality products to the domestic market, and also to find new markets in the developing countries."

The discussion in committees has shown that there is no unanimity of views concerning the assessment of this draft law. There are doubts as to who can participate in such an enterprise; and the draft law also does not clearly define the relationship between the state plan and the enterprise. Deputy Josef Trejbal pointed to the absence of labor law provisions in the submitted draft. Jan Zan asked, among other things, who will own the land on which the joint enterprise will be built.

The draft law stipulates, for example, that the state will not be liable for commitments undertaken by the enterprise, and vice versa. It will thus no longer be possible for the state to subsidize employees' wages in the event of a shortage of enterprise funds. Deputies are also having doubts about cases of enterprises in which the foreign partner will have a majority stake and the right to decide about changes in the contract, including changes that do not conform with the permit issued by the Czechoslovak central agency. The deputies criticized the fact that the draft law stipulates far too long a deadline, 3 months, within which the Czechoslovak agency is to deliver its opinion on possible changes in the contract. Deputy Mraz pointed out that, even today, foreign partners reproach us for our inflexible and inefficient decision-making in foreign trade.

The obligatory nature of the creation and allocation of enterprise funds is also unclear. Most queries concern the wage fund and the fund for cultural and social needs as well as premiums and their rates, which differ from country to country.

"The deputies had less than 2 weeks to become acquainted with the draft law," reporter Ladislav Mraz told us. "Although this is much too short a time, many problems have already arisen. That is why we recommend that the author of the draft law, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, reconsider the unclear points to which we have drawn attention, and prepare for next week's session of the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Committees—which will wind up the discussion on the draft law—well-founded replies to and positions on [our] suggestions for changes to it." [passage omitted]

## Ideological Work Criticized at Prague Meeting

*AU2110183988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 88 p 2*

["ada"-signed report: "For More Rapid Changes; Session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee"]

[Excerpts] Prague— On Tuesday [18 October] a session of the CPCZ City Committee in Prague dealt with the topical tasks of ideological work in the wake of the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The session was chaired by Comrade Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee. [passage omitted]

In connection with the need to restructure party work, the session of the city committee adopted a critical and self-critical stand. Ideological work has not yet completely shed obsolete approaches and methods, and has not fully come to terms with schematic approaches. An evaluation of the experiences from 35 elections of labor collectives' self-management bodies and directors, for example, has revealed considerable shortcomings not only on the part of founders [of state enterprises], but also on the part of party organizations, including municipal district committees and the CPCZ City Committee. As the report noted, we have grown unaccustomed to individual political work among people, and we are not quite familiar with the political situation at workplaces. Conclusions must be drawn from this, to avoid a repetition of cases such as those that occurred at the A. S. Popov Research Institute for Communication Technology, the Power Research Institute, the Research Institutes of Motor Vehicles, and the Road and Railroad Construction and Elektromont [nuclear power technology and export of power plants] enterprises, where the candidates proposed for the post of director were not elected. [passage omitted]

Most statements in the debate were also very critical. In conformity with the report, most speakers noted the existence of many weak spots in ideological work. Marie Colkova from Tesla Karlin, for instance, said that workers are raising many questions but that they are often given platitudes in reply, which erodes the party's authority. For several years already, no one has come to the all-enterprise party committee with a request to join the party. Milan Prejer from Aritma Vokovice stressed that it is necessary to resolve the problems that embitter people's lives. Only then will they believe that we are serious about restructuring. [passage omitted] Vladimir Stibinger, secretary of the municipal district committee in Prague-9, also drew attention to serious shortcomings. He said that, while checking the aptitude of the municipal district committee's lecturers, they had to part ways with one-half of them. The reasons for this? A superficial approach to work, but also a lack of interest. [passage omitted]

## Jakes, Husak Visit Historical Exhibition

*LD2410220088 Prague CTK in English 2109 GMT 24 Oct 88*

[Text] Bratislava October 24 (CTK)—A standing exhibition "Treasures of the Past" was opened here today on the 70th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia and the 20th anniversary of Czechoslovak federation, in the presence of Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and President Gustav Husak.

Also present at the opening ceremony were other members of the party Presidium, representatives of consular offices in Bratislava and other personalities.

The exhibition at the Bratislava Castle presents over 1,300 precious archaeological objects documenting the oldest settlements on Slovak territory, among them the so-called Moravian Venus, a sculpture made of a mammoth tusk which proves the existence of man on Slovak territory as early as 24,000 years ago.

Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak and other party and state representatives attended later in the day a rally of Bratislava working people and youth marking the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's foundation and the 20th anniversary of the law on the Czechoslovak federation.

Also present was a delegation of Prague, led by party Presidium member and head secretary of the party Prague city committee Miroslav Stepan and other guests. The participants in the rally were addressed by head secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Bratislava City Committee Stefan Rybar.

In the framework of the celebrations, a monument of Czechoslovak statehood was unveiled in front of the Slovak national museum.

In the evening, Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes left here for Banska Bystrica to start a working visit to central Slovakia tomorrow.

## Trade Union Council Plenum Adopts Cadre Changes

*AU2510105488 Prague PRACE in Czech 20 Oct 88 pp 1, 2*

["r"-signed report: "Making a Transition From Words to Deeds!"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The sixth plenary meeting of the Central Trade Union Council [URO], which dealt with URO's course of action in implementing the conclusions of the national all-trade union conference and with some cadre issues, ended yesterday in Prague. [passage omitted]

In connection with his retirement, the sixth plenary meeting of URO released Comrade Frantisek Brabenec from the posts of URO secretary and member of the URO Presidium and Secretariat. URO Chairman Miroslav Zavadil conveyed to him sincere thanks for his work in URO agencies and expressed his conviction that, as a member of URO, he will continue to contribute to the fulfillment of the goals of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. [passage omitted]

Comrades Blanka Cizova, Jozef Karaba, Zdenek Manek, Eva Parzykova, Marie Popova, Otakar Vesely, and Vera Zemkova were also released from the post of members of the URO Presidium.

URO Chairman Miroslav Zavadil conveyed to the aforementioned comrades thanks for their work in the URO Presidium and wished them many successes in their further trade union activity.

In a secret ballot the sixth plenary meeting of URO then elected Comrade Stanislav Jurica, who until now had served as chairman of the North Moravian Regional Trade Union Council, a member of URO, a URO secretary, and a member of the URO Presidium and Secretariat. Furthermore, Jiri Divis, Miloslav Hasek, Vaclav Chovanec, Darina Pristachova, Slavomir Smal, and Marie Vojtova were elected members of the URO Presidium. [passage omitted]

## Personnel Changes in Slovak Youth Union Noted

*AU2210164388 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Oct 88 pp 1, 5*

["sm"-signed report: "Activity To Get the Spirit and the Body Moving"]

[Summary] The session of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SYU], which was held in Bratislava on 19 October, released Jozef Durica from the functions of chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, member of its Presidium, and member of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU. Juraj Janosovsky, secretary of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, was coopted as a member of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU and elected to be a member of the Presidium, Secretariat, and chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

At the end of the session of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, its members approved a resolution which contains, among other things, proposals for the following cadre changes:

The Slovak Central Committee of the SYU released Vladimir Petrovsky from the function of a member of the Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and Kamil Kolarik from the functions of a member of the Secretariat of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, a member of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, the head of the Political Organizational Department, from the function of a member of the Intraunion Commission of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and from the function of a member of the SYU Commission for Work in the Domicile.

It released Rudolf Belan from the function of a member of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and approved a proposal for his being recalled from the post of director of SMENA, the publishing house of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

It released Magdalena Gocnikova from the function of the head of the Secondary School Youth Department of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU and of a member of the Council of Secondary School Youth of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

It released Jan Budzinak from the function of the head of the Hobby Department of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and that of a member of the Cultural-Educational Commission.

It released Viliam Nochta from the function of the head of the Department of Working Youth of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and that of a member of the Council of Youth Working in Industry.

The Slovak Central Committe coopted Viliam Nochta and Jaroslav Sisolak as members of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

The Slovak Central Committee of the SYU elected Gejza Videcky to be a member of the Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and Viliam Nochta to be a member of the Secretariat.

The Slovak Central Committee of the SYU approved Viliam Nochta as the head of the Political-Organizational Department of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, as a member of the Intraunion Commission of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and as a member of the SYU Commission for Work in the Domicile.

It approved Mikulas Mocilenko as the head of the Working Youth Department of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and as a member of the Council of Youth Working in Industry.

It approved Stefan Siska as the head of the Hobby Department and a member of the Commission for Cultural-Educational Activity of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

It approved Marian Valovic as the head of the Secondary School Youth Department of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU, and as a member of the Council of Secondary School Youth of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

The Slovak Central Committee of the SYU approved a proposal to appoint Jaroslav Sisolak to the post of director of SMENA, the publishing house of the Slovak Central Committee of the SYU.

### Readers' Letters Criticize Current Policies

AU2110174488 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 October on page 3, in its "We Exchange Views, We Conduct Polemics" column, publishes several readers' letters critical of currently pursued policies.

Jozef Jarabek from Domazlice, for example, expresses skepticism about the introduction of self-management in state enterprises. In his 800-word letter, entitled "Self-Management Is No Panacea," he says that, although his words may sound "heretic," because self-management councils are being set up under the recently approved Law on State Enterprises, he does have "doubts about the correctness" of the decision. He says: "My impression is that the labor collectives' councils are now supposed to accomplish what paid functionaries, technicians, and economists failed to resolve, or did not manage in our national economy in the past. However, they will voluntarily bear responsibility for management. I have never heard that the councils' members would receive any compensation, apart from their wages. Relying permanently on the voluntary initiative of enthusiastic people is not, in my opinion, the best solution when it comes to the management of an enterprise."

Jarabek goes on to say that, while everyone will admit that it is "utter nonsense" to ask an economist to work at a lathe, "no one seems to find it nonsensical when an outstanding lathe operator, for example, one who is a true expert in his profession, is asked to decide, as a member of the council, on economic questions concerning the management of the entire enterprise." Jarabek recommends that "everyone should do what he is really good at, in what he is proficient at," because "if everyone is to meddle in everything, there will be the danger of the national economy going downward, instead of moving upward." The letter writer continues: "While today even high-performance computers can hardly cope with the drafting of prognoses and plans, we want weighty decisions to be proposed, recommended, and approved on the basis of the initiative of workers and technicians from the factory floor. In the event of a bankruptcy of the enterprise, will the blame not be put on the shoulders of all the working people who elected the council and the director? It apparently will; however, in this way we will get into a situation in which everyone will be responsible for everything with no one, ultimately, being responsible for anything."

In conclusion, Jarabek expresses the belief that only tough economic pressure everywhere can improve the economic situation, and he warns that "letting ourselves be lulled to sleep by the vision of successes resulting from voluntariness and labor initiative from below could end with our cruel awakening to the harsh reality."

Another statement published on the same page, a 350-word letter by Oldrich Lacina from Litomerice, criticizes the plan for building a new CPCZ headquarters in the city. Lacina, who is a deputy to the Litomerice national committee, points out that the House of Culture in Litomerice is still under construction, that the city does not have a department store or an indoor swimming pool, and that its theater is in a "desolate condition," while the CPCZ Secretariat is already housed "in a relatively spacious multistory building, one of the best-maintained structures in the city." Lacina refers to the

"current talk about cutting administrative staff, including the party apparatus" and points out that the plan to build a new party building "creates the impression of a discrepancy between words and deeds." In conclusion, Lacina says that the project "would be hard to defend before the voters," and begs the unspecified "higher agencies" that will make the ultimate decision to consider "the needs of the city and society."

In his 150-word letter, Dr Miroslav Hajek from Prague criticizes the fact that Czechoslovak wage earners are kept in the dark about the sums deducted from their wages by the state. He says: "I would like to know why a citizen does not learn from his paystub how much he pays for health insurance, how much for pension insurance, and what sum is earmarked for taxes—for social consumption."

Finally, in his 700-word letter, reader Zdenek Fabera from Plzen protests against hidden price increases and the authorities' failure to intervene. Fabera says that, despite repeated assurances by "representatives of the party and the state that growth in retail prices is a phenomenon that is incompatible with the socioeconomic program of the government, prices continue to increase, without the relevant price authority issuing any comment on this." Fabera charges that, to facilitate the fulfillment of the turnover plan, retailing organizations are ordering high-priced products, with the result that low-priced goods (such as affordable shoes, cheap sausages, or ordinary napkins) are disappearing from the shops. He also complains that, "with the tacit consent of the city national committee in Plzen," lower-category eating places are disappearing from downtown Plzen and making way for expensive snack bars and wine cellars. Those restaurants that have not moved into a higher price category, he says, are increasing their profits by charging 10 or 20 percent markups, citing the "raised standard of service" as the reason. The letter writer stresses that "no general guidelines and appeals, but only legal measures that cannot be circumvented, can help to change the unhealthy developments on our domestic market."

### Stepan on 'Absurd' U.S. View of Restructuring

*LD2410214088 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 Oct 88*

[Text] Bratislava journalists today interviewed Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chief secretary of the Prague city party committee, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of the People. They discussed the part played by our Republic in introducing the principles of new thinking into international relations.

Comrade Stepan stressed that the process of radical changes in the USSR and the other socialist countries brings new impulses to international development. Czechoslovakia, whose latest contribution to the peace policy is the proposal of Milos Jakes to set up a zone of trust and good-neighborly relations along the border between the two blocs, is consistently and actively contributing to the relaxation of the international situation. But what is the relation of the Western countries, in particular the United States, toward our Republic? This was my question to Comrade Stepan.

[Begin Stepan recording] In my opinion, judging by my meeting with Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead in Washington, I think that all visits and meetings of this type are hopeful. This is the case even though one cannot fail to see that a special kind of morality prevails in the United States whereby the Americans would like to discuss the question of whether Czechoslovakia is progressing sufficiently quickly in terms of restructuring, or whether it is progressing faster or slower than Poland or the fraternal People's Republic of Hungary, or why, allegedly, as they say, Czechoslovakia is lagging behind the USSR. We distinctly told our U.S. colleagues in the Congress, as well as at the State Department, that it is absolutely absurd for the question of the speed or consistency of restructuring to be assessed by someone from Washington.

On the other hand, however, we know very well that the process of comprehensive restructuring and democratization, which is going on in all the socialist countries, has a common denominator that brings about enlivement in contacts, particularly in Europe, between the advanced socialist world and advanced capitalism. On the basis of the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev, during his visit to Prague, mentioned and explained for the first time the philosophy of a common European home, we realize that being interested and patiently elucidating our policy to the U.S. representatives is a hopeful process.

By no means, however, does this indicate that we would give up our principles and our cause. Despite this, however, new thinking in international relations must lead and force us to find meeting points and to give up those points which divide us. In my opinion, it is in this direction, although slowly, that the approach of the U.S. leadership toward Czechoslovakia is developing. [end recording]

### 'Constructive' Talks With EEC Praised

*AU2110203888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 88 p 1*

[CTK Correspondent: "On Relations Between the CSSR and the EEC"]

[Text] Brussels—Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, met with Karl-Heinz Narjes, deputy chairman of the commission of the EC, and with Willy de Clerq, member of the EC commission in charge of foreign relations and trade, in Brussels on Tuesday [18 October]. The representatives of the two sides reached positive results in their discussion of some issues which until now have prevented the conclusion of an agreement on trade

in industrial products between the CSSR and the EEC. At the same time, they discussed prospects for the future development of trade and economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the West European economic community.

Jan Sterba also explained to the representatives of the commission of the EC the fundamental principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the CSSR and the tasks of Czechoslovak foreign trade in the new system of managing Czechoslovakia's external economic relations.

The talks were very constructive for both sides and contributed to strengthening the mutual trust between the two sides. In conclusion, it was agreed that, linked with the talks of the CSSR minister of foreign trade, official talks will continue between representatives of the two sides on an agreement on trade in industrial products, which should become one of the fundamental steps toward the full normalization of economic relations between the CSSR and the EEC.

## 17th LCY Plenum's Reform Work in 'Tense' SFRY

*AU2410165288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 88 p 6*

[Report by Petr Vana, RUDE PRAVO Belgrade correspondent: "Struggle for Reforms"]

[Text] The 3-day session of the LCY Central Committee, which ended Wednesday [19 October] night as a polemical, stormy, and contentious discussion, reflected the complex and tense atmosphere in Yugoslavia. The most important purpose of the session was to discuss the immediate tasks of Communists, which would lead to overcoming the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the country. The final document constitutes an action program of practical measures—of reforms of society and of the LCY itself.

The action program gives substance to the tasks that were decided last summer at the party conference. It is also the answer to the topical and justified demands of the working people.

Why was the party leadership forced to work it out? FEC President Branko Mikulic noted in the debate that for a number of years one had been unsuccessful in preventing the economic crisis from deepening, and that for 8 years no solution to the situation in Kosovo has been found. These also are the main causes as to why many thousands of people at mass rallies have been expressing dissatisfaction in recent weeks, why stormy events occurred in Vojvodina. And also in Montenegro, where the justified demands of the working people were misused by storm troops "for an attempt to eliminate by putsch the state and party leadership" of that republic.

It is the workers who are hardest hit by the economic difficulties. Inflation, compared with last year, has already exceeded the 200-percent level, and real incomes have dropped practically to the level of 20 years ago. At the same time a small part of the populace lives in luxury, owns immense sums of foreign currency, the total of which—as was mentioned in the debate—equals about 50 percent of Yugoslavia's debt of roughly $20 billion.

Not only for these reasons did Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, note that "the fate of Yugoslavia is at stake." He was, apparently, led to draw such a momentous conclusion also by phenomena such as the growth of nationalism, the revival of the hopes of the defeated forces of society, the flood of rightist orientation also in the institutions of the Yugoslav system, as well as the stepped-up activity by other anti-Yugoslav anticommunist forces.

All this has led to the need to accelerate the restructuring of society as well as the party itself. It involves processes similar to those in the other socialist countries. They, however, bear the distinct stamp of Yugoslav peculiarities, resulting from historical developments as well as the level of the development of the production forces. What is involved is the elimination of anachronisms such as bureaucratic or administrative methods of management, and the genuine implementation of self-management and democracy. What is involved is a clearer formulation of the functions and the mission of the state and the party.

Yugoslavia's most distinctive feature is its multinational composition. In the period of antifascist struggles, the Yugoslav nations, led by J. Broz Tito, fought for and won their independence and freedom. Neither the current events nor the expectations of the working people can be understood without respecting this fact, nor a single one of the distinctive features of the latest deliberations of the LCY Central Committee—that is, that the SFRY can only exist with the entire country being united, or that it cannot exist at all.

Representatives of the individual republics' LC's, which constitute the LCY, whether they want to or not, also represent interests that can be specific to different parts of the country. They are contingent on varying levels of economic development and on history. But the effort to unite them on the basis of class interests should always win the upper hand in a party that depicts itself as the vanguard of society. And this too was characteristic of the latest deliberations. Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that the uniform demand to reform society and the LCY provides hope for a positive turn.

However, one cannot expect that a single session and an unanimously adopted program of actions can calm tensions overnight. A document, no matter how good it is, will not ensure the safety of many families in Kosovo, or

meat on the table for hundreds of thousands of working people every day. In any case, the party conference drew the attention to the fact that social tensions might occur in the country. But because the responsible functionaries even then did not do in time everything they were supposed to do, a renewal of cadres began immediately at the session.

The action program is in effect. The immediate future will show whether the program is really the right one, whether it fully corresponds to the gravity of the situation in the country. However, there should not be a dispute about what Stipe Suvar said about the deliberations of the Central Committee: that this is a step toward creating uniformity in the LCY line. The struggle for reforms is complex, and much work still has to be done to stabilize the country.

### Adamec Receives Soviet Academician Bogomolov

*LD2410214988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 24 Oct 88*

[Text] Today in Prague Ladislav Adamec, federal premier, received Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economy of the World Socialist Community of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

### CSSR Power-Generating Unit on Line in Romania

*AU2110182888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 88 p 7*

[Report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A few days ago, after extensive tests, the second Czechoslovak-built power unit with a generating capacity of 60 megawatts went into full operation in the Oradea-II thermal power plant in northwest Romania. This represents the largest CSSR investment activity in the SR of Romania.

### Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-19 Oct

AU2110130788 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 14 to 20 October report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number in parentheses):

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, received in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, the ambassadors of Tunisia, Egypt, and Sweden, who presented him with their credentials, in Prague on 13 October. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct, p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, received Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador, who came to congratulate him on his appointment as premier, in Prague on 13 October. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct, p 1)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, received Milan Rusnak, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to Austria, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 13 October. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct, p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received a visiting study delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, in Prague on 13 October. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct, p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ Regional Committee, presented to Miloslav Mandat, chairman of the Hrotovice united agricultural cooperative, the Order of Labor in Brno on 13 October. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct, p 2)

Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council [CNR], presided over a meeting of the CNR Presidium in Prague on 13 October. (LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 14 Oct, p 3)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, in the presence of Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented to prewar party member Jan Havelka the Order of Klement Gottwald in Prague on 14 October. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Oct, p 1)

Jaromir Johanes received John Whitehead, U.S. Deputy secretary of state, in Prague on 14 October. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Oct, p 1) The same day, Jaromir Johanes received GDR Ambassador Helmut Ziebart, doyen of the Prague diplomatic corps in the CSSR, who conveyed to him the congratulations of the Prague diplomatic corps on his appointment as minister of foreign affairs. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Oct, p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Czech SR, received a PRC delegation headed by Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the PRC State Council, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, in Prague on 14 October. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Oct, p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, presented to Josef Cervenka, rector of the Advanced School of Agriculture in Prague, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 14 October. Miroslav Stepan received a delegation of the Moscow Zil production association led by its General Director Yevgeniy Barakov, in Prague the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Oct, p 2)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received a delegation of the NOVOSTI news agency headed by Aleksandr Chibisov, in Prague on 14 October. (RUDE PRAVO 15 Oct, p 2)

Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, met with 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, in Aden on 15 October. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Oct, p 7)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Slovak SR, attended and addressed the congress of the Slovak branch of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association, which was held in Bratislava on 15-16 October. (Bratislava PRAVDA 17 Oct, pp 1, 6)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, received Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador, in Prague on 17 October. (PRACE 18 Oct, p 1)

Milos Jakes; Gustav Husak; Josef Kempny; Frantisek Pitra; Miroslav Stepan; and Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, were among those who attended the opening of the exhibition "Treasures From the Archives of the Czech Crown" in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct, p 1)

Jan Fojtik paid a visit to the editorial office of Bratislava PRAVDA on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct p 2)

Jaromir Johanes received Cuban Ambassador Mario Rodriguez Martinez for talks in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct, p 2)

Vladimir Herman, heading a delegation of the South Moravian region, arrived in the southern Romanian Dimbovita County on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct, p 7)

Miloslav Zavadil attended and addressed the 2-day Sixth Central Trade Union Plenary Session in Prague on 18 and 19 October. (PRACE 19 and 20 Oct, p 1)

Vasil Bilak received Jan Lajka, the new CSSR ambassador to Greece, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct, p 1)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, welcomed Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, upon the latter's arrival at Prague-Ruzyne Airport on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct, p 1)

Milos Jakes received a visiting delegation of the Communist Party of Austria headed by its chairman, Franz Muhri, in Prague on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct, p 1)

Jan Fojtik paid a visit to the editorial office of the daily UJ SZO in Bratislava on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct, p 2)

Miroslav Stepan presided over a session of the Prague CPCZ City Committee devoted to the most important tasks of ideological work following the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, in Prague on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct, p 2)

Milos Jakes presided over a session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee in Prague on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 1)

Frantisek Pitra attended and addressed a regular meeting of the Government of the Czech SR in Prague on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 2)

Ivan Knotek attended and addressed a meeting of the Government of the Slovak SR, held in Bratislava on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 2)

Vasil Bilak received Eduard Saul, the newly appointed CSSR ambassador to the PRC, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 1)

Ivan Knotek and Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, were among those who attended the opening of the new building of the Central House of Pioneers and Youth in Bratislava on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 1)

Josef Kempny received a delegation of the Bundesrat of the Republic of Austria headed by its chairman, Erwin Koestler, in Prague on 20 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 2)

Jozef Lenart, in the presence of Frantisek Hanus, received Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 2)

Miroslav Stepan received a visiting delegation of the Communist Party of Austria headed by its chairman, Franz Muhri, in Prague on 19 October. The same day, Miroslav Stepan briefed teachers and functionaries of the CPCZ's primary organizations at the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics on topical issues of the work of the Prague CPCZ city party organization, in Prague on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, assessed at a meeting of "main functionaries" of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] the fulfillment of the tasks of combat and political preparedness in the past training year in the CSLA, in Prague on 19 October. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Oct, p 2)

### Goetting, Iranian Ambassador Discuss Ties

*LD1410174588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1238 GMT 14 Oct 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State has received Hamid Reza Asefi, Iran's ambassador to the GDR. The Iranian guest briefed him on the peace talks between Iran and Iraq, which concern the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598, as well as the cooperation with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Gerald Goetting welcomed the expansion of relations between Iran and the GDR, and stated that bilateral relations had improved in many spheres since the victory of the Islamic revolution in 1979. His imminent visit to Iran is an expression of the significance the GDR attaches to relations with the Islamic Republic.

## Goetting Leads Peoples' Chamber Group to Iran

### Holds Talks in Tehran

*LD2010083988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 19 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, (ADN)—Parliamentarians, as the representatives of the people, carry a special responsibility for improving the international climate and for the peaceful future of their peoples. This was unanimously stressed on Wednesday in Tehran at a meeting between a People's Chamber delegation, led by Gerald Goetting, vice president of the People's Chamber and deputy chairman of the GDR council of State, and Hojjat ol-Eslam Mehdi Karrubi, first vice-speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The further shaping of the bilateral relations between both states and parliaments was discussed in the talk.

Gerald Goetting provided information on the GDR's intensive work for peace and security in Europe and on its involvement in seeking to resolve regional conflicts. He welcomed the cease-fire in the Gulf region and spoke in support of the consistent implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

The deputy speaker of the Iranian parliament praised the politics of the GDR directed toward peace and security and stressed that his country is working with just such energy to lessen tensions and promote stability in the Gulf region. At the same time he supported the expansion of bilateral relations.

The GDR delegation also had a meeting with Iranian Industries Minister Gholam Reza Shafe'i on Wednesday as well.

### Gives Honecker Message to Khamene'i

*LD2010142988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1309 GMT 20 Oct 88*

[Text] (ADN)—Today the GDR parliamentary delegation, led by Gerald Goetting, deputy president of the People's Chamber and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, which is currently in Iran, was received by Hojjat ol-Eslam val Moslemin Haj Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the Iranian state president. During the meeting Gerald Goetting conveyed cordial greetings from the chairman of the GDR Council of State to the Iranian head of state, and these were just as cordially reciprocated.

During the friendly meeting both sides stressed their firm agreement on basic international questions, especially in the struggle for a world without nuclear weapons and pursuing disarmament.

The GDR delegation, which has been in Tehran since since Tuesday, also had meetings today with Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi and with foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

### Delegation Departs Iran

*LD2410043188 East Berlin ADN International Service ir German 1629 GMT 23 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran (ADN)—The first GDR People's Chamber delegation to visit Iran ended its stay Sunday in the Islamic Republic. The delegation, led by Gerald Goetting, vice president of the People's Chamber and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, was seen off at Tehran airport by Hojjat ol-Eslam Mehdi Karrubi, first vice speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

The GDR parliamentary delegation had talks with officials, including President Khamene'i and Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani. At the meetings a far reaching agreement on fundamental foreign policy questions was noted by both sides, particularly regarding the struggle against nuclear weapons and for disarmament. The urgent need for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 as a significant contribution to security and stabilty in the Gulf region was strongly emphasized.

### Beil on Cooperation With Swiss Trade Official

*AU1710125988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Oct 88 p 2*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, received Ambassador Dr Silvio Arioli, chairman of the Swiss side of the Joint Government Commission, for a talk on Thursday [13 October]. The interlocutors stressed the steady development of economic relations between the two countries over the past few years.

Minister Beil pointed out that the GDR Government accords appropriate importance to the further development of economic relations with Switzerland. Cooperation has been good with a great number of highly specialized machine-building and chemical enterprises, the minister stated. Swiss companies from all spheres regularly exhibit their products at the Leipzig fairs.

Ambassador Arioli stressed the interest of the Swiss industry in expanding economic cooperation with the GDR. Together with Christian Meyer, deputy minister of foreign trade, he signed the protocol of the fifth session of the Joint Government Commission which provides for measures for expanding exports and imports.

## Reichling Heads Swiss Parliamentary Group Visit

### Delegation Meets With Sindermann

*AU2010152588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 88 pp 1, 4*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [17 October] Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, received a delegation of the Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation headed by Rudolf Reichling, president of the National Council, for a talk in Berlin. The parliamentarians are on their first official visit to the GDR at the invitation of the People's Chamber president.

An exchange of views on the international situation and bilateral parliamentary relations took place in an open-minded atmosphere. Horst Sindermann and Rudolf Reichling welcomed the meeting as a good opportunity to deepen the constructive dialogue between the parliamentarians of the two countries. They advocated a continuation of the contacts. Both politicians stressed that the positive trends emerging in international development are also opening up new prospects for all-European cooperation.

Horst Sindermann briefed the Swiss parliamentarians on the comprehensive disarmament concept of the Warsaw Pact states. [passage omitted]

The president of the Swiss National Assembly stressed the basic interest of neutral Switzerland in confidence-building, disarmament, and all-European cooperation. [passage omitted]

### Received by Fischer

*AU2010154588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 88 p 2*

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of the Swiss Federal Assembly, headed by Rudolf Reichling, president of the National Council, for a talk on Tuesday [18 October].

Oskar Fischer and Rudolf Reichling paid tribute to the visit to the GDR by the Swiss parliamentary delegation and expressed the hope that it will be conducive to shaping relations between the GDR and the Swiss Confederation. Both politicians welcomed the real progress in the field of nuclear disarmament. Oskar Fischer explained the GDR's initiatives that are aimed at reducing weapons and strengthening confidence in central Europe. Today, security cannot be achieved through arms buildup or counterarmament, but only through disarmament and the promotion of confidence, he pointed out. [passage omitted]

### Talks With Krolikowski

*AU2010152888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 88 p 2*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received a parliamentary delegation of the Swiss Confederation, headed by Rudolf Reichling, president of the National Council, for a talk on Tuesday [18 October].

Werner Krolikowski briefed the visitors in detail on the successful development of the GDR. By continuing the proven course of the main tasks of the unity of economic and social policy, everything is being done so that the national economy will continue to develop steadily and dynamically. In implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, and on the basis of the party program, great efforts are being made to accomplish high-level achievements in science, technology, and production. Endeavors are being made, in accordance with international requirements, to reach top scientific-technological standards concerning the main products, particularly in the field of key technologies, such as microelectronics. [passage omitted]

The president of the Swiss National Council explained the role of his neutral country within the all-European process. Switzerland is in favor of steps toward nuclear and conventional disarmament and a worldwide banning of chemical weapons.

Both politicians spoke in favor of expanding bilateral relations, particularly in the sphere of economy, science, and technology. [passage omitted]

## Stoph Greets CSSR Premier on Appointment

*AU1410153688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 88 p 7*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed to Ladislav Adamec a cordially worded congratulatory telegram on his appointment as premier of the CSSR Government.

## CSSR's Bohuslav Kucera Makes Visit

### Received by Herrmann

*LD1410215988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1510 GMT 14 Oct 88*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The joint responsibility of the GDR and the CSSR in the struggle for peace and disarmament, as well as issues of social development, was the subject of an exchange of views on Friday between Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, and Dr Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] and deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

Joachim Herrmann lauded the contribution of the allied parties and of all social forces united in the GDR National Front for the consistent continuation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. Dr Bohuslav Kucera outlined current tasks of the CSS as well as domestic and foreign issues which occupy center stage in the public interest of his country.

### Discusses Cooperation With Goetting

*AU1710164088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Oct 88 p 5*

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—At a news conference in Berlin on Friday [14 October], Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, spoke about cooperation between their parties in order to strengthen socialism in their countries and to promote detente and disarmament.

The 30-year-old close and comradely cooperation between the two parties will be continued in 1989 in accordance with an agreement signed on Thursday [13 October] by means of a central exchange of experiences on issues that are of interest for both sides, Manfred Gerlach stated. Points of emphasis will be questions concerning economic and local government policies, and the activities of the people's representative bodies. [passage omitted]

## Mueckenberger Meets Cuban Party Official

*AU1410155888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 88 p 5*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [12 October] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, received Juan Almeida Bosque, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the national Party Control and Review Committee, for a friendly talk. The exchange of views and experiences focused on questions pertaining to social development in the two countries, cooperation between the SED and the Communist Party of Cuba, and the international situation.

Erich Mueckenberger briefed the Cuban guest on the working people's various initiatives to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and told the Cuban guest about the tasks and working methods of the SED party control commissions.

Juan Almeida Bosque reported on the efforts of the Cuban people to prepare the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution with new successes in the further building of the socialist society in Cuba. Cuba accords great importance to the close cooperation with the GDR and with the other socialist countries, he said.

In discussing international issues, the interlocutors agreed that favorable trends are currently emerging in international relations for deepening the process of detente, solving global problems, and settling existing conflicts by political means.

Werner Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, and Ramiro Rio Perez-Teran, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba, also participated in the talk.

## Schabowski Receives Havana PCC Official

*AU2010160788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 88 p 8*

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ND)—The delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] of Havana City, headed by Jorge Lezcano Perez, member of the PCC Central Committee and first secretary of the Havana City Province PCC leadership, which is currently in Berlin at the invitation of the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, held friendly talks at the secretariat of the bezirk leadership on Tuesday [18 September]. The meeting focused on issues concerning the further deepening of relations between the party organizations of both countries of the two capitals in implementing the agreements reached between Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro during their meeting in November 1986.

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, briefed the Cuban visitors on the work of the Berlin party organization and the many and varied activities of the city's working people in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Jorge Lezcano Perez reported on the struggle of the Cuban Communists to further strengthen the first socialist state on the American continent. The two sides spoke in favor of further shaping and deepening the tested cooperation between the party organizations and state organs of both capitals. [passage omitted]

### Employment Agreement With Angola Ratified

*AU1410153788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 88 p 5*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin on Wednesday [13 October] Heinz-Dieter Winter, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Agostinho Andre Mendes de Carvalho, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Angola to the GDR, exchanged the instruments of ratification to the consular treaty and to the agreement between the GDR Government and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola on the temporary employment and advanced training of Angolan working people in GDR enterprises.

On this occasion it was stressed that the agreements reached contribute to further deepening bilateral relations on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation concluded between the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola on 19 February 1979.

### Church Paper Appeals to Leader for Dialogue

*AU2110111588 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 Oct 88 p 2*

[EPD report: "Church Paper Demands Dialogue From GDR Leadership"]

[Text] Frankfurt—After the latest censorship measures, the chief editor of the East Berlin paper DIE KIRCHE has appealed to the GDR leadership not to give up its "policy aimed at dialogue" with the churches and, in general, to continue its "policy of controlled opening" of the past years "in a more determined way than before." The church regards itself as a "critical ally," Thomas underlined.

### Stoph Presents State Honor to Political Academy

*LD1310102188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 12 Oct 88*

[Excerpt] Postdam, 12 Oct (ADN)—Tribute was paid to the work of the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence with the award today of the Karl Marx Order. It was conferred on the academy by Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council, in recognition of the academy's contribution to the strengthening and further development of the GDR's state and legal system, its services to political and legal research, and to its training and further qualification. The award was presented at a festive event in Postdam-Babelsberg by Premier Willi Stoph.

In his festive address, Willi Stoph recalled that the academy's collective has achieved much in fulfilling the task set by the party and government. This applies to the training of socialist state officials as well as to scientific achievements concerning the theory and practise of the socialist state and jurisprudence. He pointed out that nearly 35,000 students and managerial personnel have been trained and have received higher qualifications in the past 4 decades. A total of 14,000 students have graduated from the academy as full-time students of domestic and foreign policy and over 12,000 as correspondence course students. A total of 7,500 managerial personnel have taken part in further qualification courses.

Willi Stoph stated that the entire activity of the socialist state under the rule of law is aimed at enabling citizens to take advantage of their established rights and to exercize their civic duties in socially secure conditions. The socialist state guarantees political and social values such as rule by the people and actual participation in the management of social affairs, work, and education as well as basic personal rights, for example the inviolability of the dignity and freedom of the citizen, the promotion of marriage and the family, personal property, freedom of conscience and religion. One of the basic functions of the socialist state is to do everything possible to preserve peace in the world and to defend socialism. In this connection Willi Stoph referred to the (?efforts of) the (?GDR), the USSR, and other socialist states for disarmament and detente.

He underlined that the realization of the demanding goals in shaping socialism has always been, and is still linked with the development of socialist democracy and the perfection of the system of laws. The main direction in which the state power of the GDR is developing is the futher development of socialist democracy. Central state management is combined with a high degree of self-responsibility by the combines, enterprises, and local state organs, comprehensive participation by citizens in the affairs of their state, and a high degree of initiative in the implementation of the decisions of the party and government. [passage omitted]

### Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-18 Oct

AU2110180088 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 14 to 19 October reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and secretaries of the SED Central Committee attended the opening of a Jewish exhibition in Berlin on 16 October: Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Werner Jarowinsky, and Guenter Schabowski. (17 October, p 1)

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo attended a military tattoo on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of the Battle of the Nations in Berlin on 16 October: Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense; Egon Krenz, secretary of the SED Central Committee; Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Army General Erich Mielke, minister of state security; Guenter Schabowski, secretary of the SED

Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership; and Inge Lange, secretary of the SED Central Committee. (17 October, p 8)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee attended talks between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the Central Committee Discipline Inspection Committee, in Berlin on 18 October. (19 October, p 1)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, attended the investiture for the new rector of Halle University in Halle on 14 October. (15-16 October, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a delegation from the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, headed by Moses Nnauye, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, in Berlin on 14 October. (15-16 October, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, received a delegation of the CPC Central Committee headed by Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and secretary of the Central Committee Discipline Inspection Commission, in Magdeburg on 16 October. (17 October, p 3)

Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of the Swiss Federal Assembly headed by Rudolf Reichling, president of the National Council, in Berlin on 18 October. (19 October, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended the funeral ceremony for composer Ernst Hermann Meyer in Berlin on 13 October. (14 October, p 2)

Werner Jarowinski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a reception given by U.S. Ambassador Francis Joseph Meehan in honor of Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, in Berlin on 17 October. (18 October, p 2) Werner Jarowinsky attended a luncheon given by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in honor of Edgar Miles Bronfman in Berlin on 17 October. (18 October, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received members of the Joint Commission for Cooperation Between CEMA and the Republic of Nicaragua in Leipzig on 14 October. (15-16 October, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Budyn Sumyaa, minister of culture of the Mongolian People's Republic, in Berlin on 14 October. (15-16 October, p 2) Werner Krolikowski received a parliamentary delegation of the Swiss Confederation headed by Rudolf Reichling, president of the National Council, in Berlin on 18 October. (19 October, p 2) Inge Lange, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received an SEW women's delegation in Berlin on 14 October. (15-16 October, p 2)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, attended a harvest celebration in Werdau during the weekend 15-16 October. (17 October, p 2)

Army General Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of state security, attended the funeral ceremony for the retired Major General Gustav Szinda in Berlin on 13 October. (14 October, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended the startup of a pilot plant for processing potash brine at the "Karl Liebknecht" Potash Works in Nordausen on 14 October. (15-16 October, p 1)

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by 'Ali Isma'il Sayf, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in Berlin on 17 October. (18 October, p 4)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, attended a wreath-laying ceremony marking the 175th anniversary of the Battle of the Nations in Berlin on 17 October. (18 October, p 4) Guenter Schabowski attended an accountability election meeting of the comrades of the departmental party organization of the "7 October" Machine Tool Combine in Berlin; date not given. (18 October, p 8) Guenter Schabowski received a delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba headed by Jorge Lezcano Perez, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Province of Havana City leadership, in Berlin on 18 October. (19 October, p 8)

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, received a delegation of the Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation by Rudolf Reichling, president of the National Council, in Berlin on 17 October. (18 October, pp 1,4)

## Reportage on Karoly Grosz Visit to Iran

### Arrives 25 Oct; Met by Musavi

*LD2510181588 Budapest MTI in English*
*1628 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 25 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, arrived in Tehran for a three-day official visit on Tuesday, meeting an invitation from Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi. The Hungarian prime minister and his party were met at the airport by their host.

### Holds Talks With Musavi

*LD2610083288 Budapest MTI in English*
*2328 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 25 (MTI)—At the Tuesday talks of the Hungarian Premier Karoly Grosz and his Iranian counterpart Mir Hoseyn Musavi the parties agreed that the development of Hungarian-Iranian relations requires the establishment of long-term frameworks stipulated by agreements.

The Hungarian prime minister proposed that in the interest of the development of long-term, many-sided relations representatives of the two countries open talks on the elimination of double taxation, on agreements on health, aviation, transport and a consular convention, and the abolishment of diplomatic and service passport visas.

The Iranian head of government gave a positive response to the proposals, stating that he sees no obstacle to talks at the soonest possible date.

On economic relations the two prime ministers stated that for the time being bilateral trade lags behind the 200 million dollar target set two years ago. At the talks the Hungarian party offered a 200 million dollar credit to finance Hungarian investment above the clearing agreement.

Mr Grosz emphasized that Hungary was a reliable and correct partner when a war was waged, and now when peace is within reach it wishes to actively take part in reconstruction.

In this context Mr Grosz voiced the hope that what was formed in hard times will develop in peace.

Imre Szekacs, general-manager of Tesco [state electronics firm], signed a protocol with the staff of the Iranian Ministry of Agriculture and Reconstruction on the 3-4 month courses of 200 Iranian experts in Hungary in the areas of plant protection, husbandry and forestry.

Reviewing international questions particular attention was paid to the developments in the Middle-East.

Karoly Grosz welcomed that Iran accepted the Security Council Resolution 598 on the ceasefire. He underlined that the continuance of war does not serve the interest of any party. It reverses the positive international processes, provides a pretext to external intervention, and destabilizes the region.

Karoly Grosz stated that Hungary is interested in the continuance of peace talks and in solutions that mutually serve the interest of both parties. This is why Hungarian troops are part of the UN peace-keeping forces.

The Hungarian prime minister emphasized that it is the task and responsibility of the countries in the Gulf to safeguard free navigation.

As Karoly Grosz said Hungary holds the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan exemplary because it asserts differing interests in mutually acceptable way. He states that Hungary advocates that Afghanistan be a neutral and non-aligned country.

In this context Mir Hoseyn Musavi stated that Iran is paying particular attention to the developments in Afghanistan as it has a 2,000 km long common border.

The Iranian head of government said that he can understand the earlier anxiety of some of the neighbouring countries about the spread of the Islamic revolution.

### Gives Toast on Mutual Ties

*LD2610000988 Budapest MTI in English*
*2327 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Tehran, October 25 (MTI)—The Iranian Prime Minister Mr Musavi gave a gala dinner in honour of the Hungarian premier and his party Tuesday. Present at the dinner were the Hungarian delegation currently paying an official visit to Tehran, and on the hosts' part the Iranian Prime Minister, Mr Musavi, 'Alireza Mo'ayeri, deputy prime minister, 'Isa Kalantari, minister of agriculture, Mohammed Hoseyn Jalali, minister of defence, members of the Iranian Government, and leading representatives of the political and economic life.

At the gala dinner Mr Grosz and Mr Musavi raised toasts.

In his toast Mr Grosz conveyed the sympathy of the Hungarian people for the suffering of the Iranian people.

'We know the history of Iran, the country's fight for the defence and strengthening of its independence, and the creativity of the people which have nurtured and enriched an ancient culture, he emphasized. We are also interested in and pay tribute to the culture of the victorious Islamic revolution. We pay a tribute of respect to the work of the people, and the endeavours for political independence, and the development and modernization of the national economy.'

'The regular high-level political and economic consultations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Islamic Republic of Iran serve well the many-sided development of bilateral relations, and deepen the friendship of our peoples. I am convinced that my current talks and the talks between members of my party and their Iranian partners will contribute to the strengthening of our cooperation and friendship. [no closing quotation mark as received]

'The Hungarian People's Republic is seeing a significant social and economic transformation. Similarly to other socialist countries, the Hungarian people is seeking new socialist answers that better suit its traditions, historic experience, and the current situation, to resolve the difficult tasks of social development. Our party and government is committed to the acceleration of the political and economic reform programme. Parliament has passed laws of significance, and in order to establish a planned socialist market economy and socialist pluralism further bills are being worked out. We are convinced that the consistent implementation of our programme will ensure the preservation of our achievements, resolve our economic and social problems, and furnish conditions for recovery and advancement. We have embarked upon an untrodden path, but we are convinced that we can mobilize the intellectual and physical reserves of the society, and the enterprise and creative energy of our people.'

'Favourable changes can also be detected in the international situation. We have better prospects for the peace which is precious for all the peoples of the world, and security. In Europe and in other regions we are receding from the threat of a thermo-nuclear disaster. Global military-political confrontation has abated. Important talks have begun on bilateral and multilateral basis, not only on the level of great powers, but also among the countries interested in the settlement of regional conflicts. There are promising signs that disarmament will not remain a frequently used political slogan or wish, but it will gradually be implemented. The more relaxed atmosphere and talks, or the methods taking shape to settle regional conflicts have eased the tension in several regions and provide improved settlement prospects.'

'The Hungarian People's Republic is interested in developing the favourable processes and their results. We believe that in the spirit of peceful coexistence dialogue is possible between countries of differing social and political systems and of different religions. As our means allow, Hungary is actively contributing to forward the cause of general disarmament, improve the international atmosphere and unfold the oportunities of cooperation between the countries of the world. We take stand against attitudes opposing this stand, and forms of supression, exploitation, racial discrimination and aggression. Though our endeavours are concentrated on Europe, in the current global world we cannot be indifferent to other regions particularly if they are not at a great distance. We hope that the establishment of a sounder international environment will help us implement our tasks.'

'We appreciate that the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran hold similar principles and that under its guidance the people are striving to realize them. Iran is a state of significant resources in the Middle-East, the policy of which exerts great influence in the varied region which is burdened with conflicts. Starting from the wish for peaceful coexistence, the Iranian Government have recently opened talks with Iraq.'

'The Hungarian people appreciates the decision of the Islamic Republic of Iran that it accepts the Security Council Resolution 598 and welcomes its implementation in practice. The ceasefire has significantly contributed to the easing of tension in the Gulf and it also serves the cause of world peace. We hope that the talks held under the auspices of the United Nations will end the war. We are convinced that the causes of the crises can be eliminated with mutual good-will to the advantage of both countries and the peoples of the region. Following settlement, the Iranian people will be able to use its creative energy, intellectual and natural resources to speed up the reconstruction of the country. However, to reach a lasting peace and stability in the Middle-East it is required to put an end on foreign military presence in the Gulf, and to withdraw the navy of the non-Gulf countries, so that the countries of the region could settle their affairs without external interference.'

'Our visit is taking place in an atmosphere which facilities decision on developing cooperation between the two friendly countries of Hungary and Iran. During Mr Musavi's memorable visit to Budapest we were familiarized with each other's intentions about building relations, and set realistic targets to strengthen our political, economic, cultural and other cooperation. I can state with satisfaction that over the past period the develoment of Hungarian-Iranian relations have accelerated and several joint decisions have been realized.'

'The friendly relations between our countries stand on the basis of sovereignity, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual interests. We attach great significance to reciprocally advantageous cooperation. Our results provide promising foundation for the expansion of cooperation and its extension to new areas.'

'I wish to reconfirm that Hungary wishes to actively take part in the implementation of the reconstruction and economic development programme of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As in this field we are far from having utilized every opportunity, the exploration of areas of reciprocally advantagous cooperation is given priority at our current talks. We are prepared to sign agreements to confirm our intentions aimed at developing economic, commercial, scientific and technical, and cultural relations, and by means of bilateral agreements to provide more favourable conditions for their development. I can assure you that the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to be a reliable partner of Iran's stated Karoly Grosz.

**Envoys 'Regret' DPRK Warning on ROK Ties**
*OW2610130088 Tokyo KYODO in English 1225 GMT 26 Oct 88*

[Text] Beijing, Oct. 26 KYODO—Hungarian diplomats expressed regret Wednesday that North Korea has threatened to sever ties between the two countries in protest against Hungary's decision to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea.

The officials said the Hungarian decision is aimed at deepening interchanges with both South and North Korea while recognizing that there are two Koreas.

The officials were commenting on a North Korean warning that the Hungarian Government should bear responsibility for all consequences.

The warning came in response to the Hungarian Government's notification to North Korea that it will not retreat from its decision to open up bilateral relations with South Korea.

Hungarian sources in Beijing said the issue did not come up for discussion at two recent high-level talks between Hungarian and Chinese Communist Parties held in Beijing and Budapest.

The sources said the Chinese Government has not raised objections to Hungary's decision, indicating Beijing understood Hungary's position concerning its decision to establish relations with South Korea.

Hungary and South Korea opened their respective missions in Seoul and Budapest in September and October.

**Council of Europe Condemns Romanian Plan**
*AU1910130888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Oct 88 p 2*

[MTI report: "The Resettlement Plan Is Threatening General Values of European Civilization—Council of Europe Debates Romanian Plan"]

[Text] The parliamentary session of the Council of Europe held in Strasbourg over the weekend [8-9 October] discussed the Romanian resettlement program as a special issue on its agenda. At the session of this body, which comprises representatives of 21 European countries, all the speakers without exception strongly condemned this program, which involves the destruction of villages and the relocation of their inhabitants.

The Austrian, British, French, FRG, Swiss, and Spanish representatives pointed out that they considered it an impossible contradiction that a resettlement program which threatens the general values of European culture and civilization has been adopted in a European country at the end of the 20th century. In addition, the population affected by this program already feels threatened, and some of them are leaving the country. The speakers pointed out that the Council of Europe did not intend to accuse Romania; it only condemned Romania's resettlement policy. The speakers called upon their national governments and parliaments to take a stand before the bulldozers start rolling.

As a body, the European Parliament does not issue a decision after such extraordinary debates, but 27 representatives issued a joint declaration in which they voiced their critical opinions. Their written declaration points out that the Romanian plan intends to destroy 7,000-8,000 villages in the next 12 years, villages "that are mostly situated in Transylvania and Banat, and also to relocate some 2 million people (mostly national minorities), thus depriving them of their traditions, roots, and even their cultural identity." The representatives are convinced that with this measure, the Romanian Government is volating the right of national minorities to preserve their cultural identity, a right recognized by the universal declaration of human rights and accepted in the Helsinki Final Document. Therefore, these representatives call upon the member states in the Council of Europe to exercise their influence and convince the Romanian Government to cancel the implementation of this plan.

**FRG's Jenninger on Romania, German Emigres**
*LD1510193888 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 14 Oct 88*

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpt] [Unidentified presenter] The West German parliament, the Bundestag, has unanimously called on Romania to respect human rights and minority rights. Dr Philipp Jenninger, the Bundestag chairman, said the following in this connection:

[Begin recording] [Jenninger, in German with superimposed Hungarian translation] Foreign Minister Genscher recently put forward a suggestion in the UN General Assembly that the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Helsinki process should be completed by the end of October. Only one state causes certain problems, but it is to be hoped that we will succeed in getting it to contribute to concluding the meeting. It would not be wise—and on this I agree with the views expressed here—if we were to exclude that state, and if we were to conclude the conference without it.

[Unidentified reporter] I fear that perhaps not all our viewers understand this. Which state do you have in mind?

[Jenninger] I mean Romania. This is no secret; the whole world is speaking about it.

[Reporter] I know that you are not in favor of the FRG urging people of German nationality—say in Romania—to leave their place of birth.

[Jenninger] No, we have never done this. Nor do we wish to do it in the future.

[Reporter] But you are paying for every single emigrant.

[Jenninger] Well, this question is connected with the so-called family reunification. You are also familiar with this problem, this situation. You also know that there are people who for various reasons leave for another country, and then turn to the authorities and say: My family, my wife and children have remained in Romania. This person has lived in the FRG for a year and would like to be united with his family. The Romanian Government usually says that it cannot agree to this; these people left illegally and therefore their families cannot follow them. Then, because it is an organic part of our approach that families should be able to live together, we do everything possible to achieve this. Unfortunately—and I am very much against this—we always have to pay money for these people. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Medgyessy, FRG's Spaeth Discuss Cooperation

*LD1710130688 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 17 Oct 88*

[Text] Budapest, October 17 (MTI)—The Federal Republic of Germany considers the Hungarian reform process a basic element of East-West relations. Should the reforms show fair progress, there is hope for placing East-West contacts on a new basis, said Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, during his Stuttgart talks with Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy.

Peter Medgyessy said to journalists after returning to Budapest Sunday [23 October] evening that he informed Lothar Spaeth on the Hungarian reform process and further intentions. The discussions covered issues of economic cooperation. The West German party showed particular interest in Hungary's new Law of Association. The Baden-Wuerttemberg administration encourages local entrepreneurs to buy small and medium-sized Hungarian plants, both in part and entirely. For a survey of opportunities, next year a seminar is to be organized for business circles under the personal sponsorship of Lothar Spaeth. Prospects are particularly promising for the food and textile industries and the retail trade sector.

During the discussion of non-economic cooperation, it was mentioned that in May next year a Hungarian cultural institute with modern language teaching facilities is scheduled to open in Stuttgart, an area with a large population of Germans who emigrated from Hungary.

An agreement was reached on supporting cooperation between foreign trade colleges and the Budapest and Mannheim Economic Universities. The West German partners are prepared to give scholarships for the training of economic managers on scholarship and a joint working group is to be set up to coordinate training.

## Kulcsar Explains Business Law to Assembly

*AU2110060188 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Oct 88 pp 1-3*

[Unattributed report on speech by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar on the draft bill on business associations, at the National Assembly session on 5 October: "A Major Economic Law From Every Viewpoint"]

[Text] In the introduction of his speech, Kalman Kulcsar spoke about the trade law adopted by parliament in 1875, a law that, in spite of opposition and traditional principles and views, played a considerable role in the process which organically connected Hungarian economic life with the European economy and which helped Hungary adjust to this economy.

Then, speaking about the present day situation, Kalman Kulcsar said that the tremendous technical development under way in the world, the change in the world economy, and the modification of international economic relations led to accelerated legislation on business associations in most countries, both in individual Western European countries promoting the reform of the law on economic associations—like Austria, the FRG, Switzerland, and France—and on the level of the legal coordination under way in the EEC. The renaissance of the right of business association, a right once regarded as a "bourgeois heritage," has also reached the socialist countries, and almost every socialist country engaged in economic reforms has more or less rehabilitated the right of business association. If we wish to prevent the economic development gap separating Hungary from the leading countries of the world from increasing further, we can no longer postpone the modernization of various forms of business association. The draft bill on business association being submitted here is extremely important from the point of view of economic policy, legal policy, social policy, and ideological aspects alike, and it is one of the most important legal measures in recent years, Kalman Kulcsar pointed. He continued:

"The need to develop a controlled market economy was a basic element of the economic reform launched 20 years ago. Although the concepts concerning the extent, possibility, and means of economic guidance have constantly changed, it has become clear today that the commodity and manpower markets cannot function properly without a capital market. However, it is impossible to develop such a capital market without a modern reorganization of the social and economic conditions of partnership ventures. So far, business ventures have played a mainly isolated and separated role in economic markets. The new law on business associations will create the basis for the development of partnership ventures and market integration. Thus, this law can do a great deal to help to create a situation in which, through the acceleration of the flow of capital, public property is used in those areas where it has the best chances of

making long-term profits. It can also contribute to the elimination of artificial obstacles between various form of property, and thus, to an increase in the scope of the economy."

Kalman Kulcsar then summed up the economic and economic policy goals of the draft bill on business associations:

"The role played by the dynamically developing partnership ventures in the economy should increase, taking into consideration the long-term and lasting interests of the whole of society and in order to provide support for the structural renewal of our economy; subsequently, the assortment of goods should become more up-to-date and the income-producing capacity of our people's economy should also increase;

"The number of business ventures in the market should increase by means of business association that can adjust more flexibly to market demands, and thus, the effects of competition should increase in the framework of systematic market building;

"The creation of business associations should also help to enrich the production, marketing, and cooperation relations between economic organizations, and the risk to the budget and to the banking system should decrease by expanding and developing the channels for the direct flow of capital based on cooperation between economic organizations;

"Instead of a self-sufficient development of the enterprises based on short-term interests, we should strengthen investments and risks in funds and in stocks. The elimination of obstacles hindering cooperation between enterprises and citizens will make it possible to use individual savings for community goals in a legal framework and to develop individual initiatives in socialist ventures;

"We should take further steps to develop the organizational system of a modern management of state property in order to make more efficient use of public property;

"Forms of business association should be created which strengthen the security of small ventures and which make it easier for these small ventures to adjust to the people's economy, thus promoting the elimination of a restrictive attitude to these small ventures;

"A legally regulated and flexible system should be developed to enable various forms of economic organizations and ventures to adjust naturally to market conditions and to change into another such form;

"The law should strengthen the direct flow of foreign working capital into the Hungarian people's economy.

"From a legal policy viewpoint, the importance of this law lies in the fact that it provides a uniform legal policy concept for the previous scattering of regulations on business assocations and guarantees a lasting and clear legal framework for business ventures. Thus, the consequences of human and organizational attitudes will become more predictable in the economy. This is a basic condition for any economic risk and large-scale investments.

"This draft bill will modernize the forms of commercial partnership that were in force prior to 1945—the unlimited partnership, deposit partnerships [beteti tarsasag], limited liability companies, and stock corporations—and, on the basis of experience, will develop the joint enterprise and partnership models that developed within the enterprise's activity after 1968.

"Thus, the law will primarily cover the simplest small ventures and family ventures—that is, unlimited partnerships whose functions are based on the members' unlimited and universal responsibility. As a form of the latter partnerships, in practice the law will continue to systematically regulate the business-work partnerships introduced on 1 January 1982. The more refined version of them—the enterprises-business work partnership—forms what this draft law terms economic business work partnerships, which function with the responsibility of a corporate body. The reintroduction of deposit partnerships linked to unlimited partnerships carries new opportunities; and as for the personally active internal members, this form of partnership employs them in addition to outside members, who participate with their own investments. The draft bill also regulates the associations in the form of coordinated partnerships, as well as those joint enterprises which function under the guarantee of their members. The law will then regulate the limited liability partnerships modeled on small-scale and medium-sized enterprises at the border between capital and personal partnerships; the last part of the law will regulate the functioning of stock corporations that are typical forms of large-scale enterprises in which the members' rights are reflected in the form of stocks."

With the exception of cooperatives, the draft bill will cover all the forms of partnership aimed at establishing a business venture, Kalman Kulcsar said. He pointed out that Hungary was the first to present such a high-level and thoroughly formulated system to the world. According to our experience to date, our efforts to formulate this law have met with great attention, interest, and understanding support all over the world.

"This business association law is part of the modernization of our system of economic laws and, at the same time, it is a qualitatively different measure from our previous economic laws. This draft law, which is submitted in the spirit of democratizing our political institutions and working out economic constitutionalism, is not a framework, but rather a law which fully regulates the rights to establish business assocations. The 340 paragraphs included in the 7 articles of this draft law provide

complete regulations covering the right to establish business associations of those participating in our economic life. This draft bill is an expression of the legislative power of the National Assembly, because no state administration and executive regulations can be added to this law. This legislature is a technical condition for the demand that legal regulations should provide a long-term framework for our economic approach."

The Law Will Eliminate Previous Regulations [subhead]

"If approved, the draft bill will have a considerable snowball effect on our entire system of economic regulations. The introduction of this law will automatically require a conceptual modification of the laws regulating state enterprises and cooperatives, and the modification of the Civil Code's stipulations concerning property contracts and civil association contracts, as well as the modification of enterprise liquidation, bankruptcy, and currency regulations. Some of these legal modifications will take place this year, and some next year. Together with all these things, the creation of a law on business associations will contribute to a thorough reexamination of the constitutional regulations applying to economic order.

"Changing the legal climate is a fundamental condition for the implementation of this law—namely, the consistent reexamination of legal regulations that were mostly created at the lower levels of our legal system, and the elimination of regulations that oppose both the letter and spirit of the law. Moreover, this previous practice of setting regulations which often interfered in our economic by means of guidelines and circulars that could often hardly be regarded as principled regulations—including the multitude of regulations and directives—should be eliminated if we want to implement the norms incorporated in this law."

Speaking about the sociopolitical effects of the law, Kalman Kulcsar recalled the declarations made at the MSZMP Central Committee session of 27 September 1988, according to which "there can be no economic stability in Hungary without political stability, for the two are inseparable." It also follows from this that there can be no lasting political stability without lasting economic stability. What can be the basis of economic stability? Only an economy that functions rationally and efficiently, based on a rational and economically optimal attitude on the part of people and organizations engaged in this economic activity.

"In fact, this is also an essential element of political stability. People and organizations who think and act rationally should replace the attitude governed by unpredictable moods and emotions, which is something that, unfortunately, continues to characterize our historically formed political style. This law will contribute to the spreading of rational activity in the economy and will help create and broaden the economically independent strata which, based on their own economic power, are also able to act independently and rationally in politics. Thus, this law could greatly contribute to the spread of a rational political attitude, a change in our political style, and the political stability that is so badly needed by our country. The often-mentioned "civil society" could organically emerge from such social and economic conditions, and not from rhetoric and publicity."

We Should Not Preserve Obsolete Limitations [subhead]

"However, the consequences of a decision or a law are not necessarily the expected or desired ones. If we expect and desire a flow of capital and an increase in investments and ventures as a result of this law, we should be aware that this will increase the differences in incomes and that income will arise from the risks and investments themselves, income which we can reinvest as we wish and which will lead to new income. The draft bill will broaden the opportunities for this reinvestment. Differences in income will really irritate society only if they take the form of spectacular and irrational consumption. Personal income taxes already help us to deal with high incomes, and thus, there is no need to protect our society by means of irrational obstacles from profitable investments and the income that ensues from them.

"Of course, it is necessary to deal with the differences in income and related inequalities from an ideological aspect. This, however, involves the need to change the image of socialism that has been formed in history. This draft law reflects this need, but it cannot be the job of this law to solve the ideological problems that derive from this change."

In his speech, Kalman Kulcsar stressed the following:

"The functioning of this law, which is adapted to the current nature of our society and to our economic conditions, requires a mixed economy. This law fully recognizes the freedom of citizens and enterprises to change. It creates the right for citizens and organizations to set up business associations as a basic right within our economic constitution, eliminates state administration over business associations, and increases judicial activity in respect to these associations. In accordance with this law, state legal control over business associations will be carried out entirely by judicial means. In addition, the overwhelming majority of regulations concerning these business associations are dispositive in nature—that is, the sides wishing to set up a partnership may, by mutual agreement, deviate from the regulations stipulated by the law. This law therefore provides great scope for responsible activity by citizens and enterprises.

"Obviously, the most difficult thing is to transform the people's awareness. Therefore, there should be great emphasis on ideological activity in order to make people understand that stock corporations, the stock exchange, and other concepts of corporations are techniques which

not exclusively related to capitalist societies but which should instead be evaluated according to their social content, and that they can thus definitely be used for implementing our goals.

"This law will also function as a 'program law' to a certain extent—that is, we hope that it will put pressure on society to change our economic conditions. The short-term effects of the business association law can already be felt in the need to standardize the entrepreneurial and enterprise taxes and to make considerable changes in wage regulations. As a result of this law, considerable development is also expected in the preparation of economic balances, bookkeeping, and in property evaluation. Also, the Court of Registration will undergo considerable material and personnel development. The establishment of the courts which are necessary for the implementation of this law can only be done with further budget burdens; this is because the current system of courts can hardly cope with their burden, and this load is constantly increasing as a result of increasing demands posed by society. However, the minimal conditions for the functioning of this law can be created by the time it goes into force—that is, by 1 January 1989. However, further determined work will be needed in order to improve these conditions in the coming years."

The Role of Enterprise Councils [subhead]

Kalman Kulcsar then spoke about the uniformity of this law on business associations. It applies equally therefore to business associations set up by people legally termed natural persons and by organizations legally termed corporate bodies, as well as to associations between our citizens and foreigners. Analyzing the possible effects of this law, Kalman Kulcsar said the following:

"Great changes took place in the state economic sector between 1984 and 1986. More than three-quarters of the state enterprises became self-managing and independent state enterprises. Most of the state's rights of ownership were transferred to these enterprises' councils, general assemblies, or assemblies of delegates. Thus, from a legal point of view, state administration was separated from enterprise management. Much justified criticism has been directed at the work of these enterprise councils.

"We are also taking this criticism into consideration as we prepare to eliminate shortcomings by modifying the law on state enterprises. However, we should not forget that there can be no partnership coordination between enterprises or market integration without separating state administration and enterprise management. Therefore, it is also necessary to stress the favorable aspects of the changes that took place in 1984. In addition, experience has shown that in the case of small and medium-sized enterprises, the use of self-management and standardizing the strategic decisions on ownership and enterprise management among the representatives of workers collectives generally have more advantages than disadvantages. In view of this, and of the need for economic stability, it cannot be the aim of enterprises managed by enterprise councils, the general assembly, or the assembly of delegates to transform themselves overnight into some form of partnership as a result of external pressure in the form of a campaign. Most of the state enterprises do not have the objective conditions for this.

"We must also recognize, however, that forms of self-management have not succeeded, for example, in foreign trade enterprises or in large-scale enterprises made up of several factory units. As these large-scale enterprises are part of a competitive sector, there is no need for state guidance in most of these economic organizations. Owing to the complexity of these enterprises, however, the enterprise council is not a proper form of management either. Therefore, a business association, primarily a limited liability association or stock corporation, can be used here, as has been shown by the practice so far of several of our large-scale enterprises. The provisions of this law concerning stock corporations also contain regulations on trusts in connection with large-scale enterprises—that is, the law tries to provide adequate regulations for cases when stock corporations acquire mutual, large amounts, or majority shares in each other's business ventures. It is possible to maintain enterprise integration this way. However, on the one hand, the closed nature of this integration will weaken, while on the other hand, the component factory units will become independent enterprises, interest will increase within these enterprise groupings, and management will be carried out primarily by financial means. Thus, this business association law could also contribute to solving the decades-old problems of the large-scale enterprises' internal mechanism."

The Law on Land Will Also Be Modified [subhead]

In Hungary, cooperatives and, above all, agricultural production cooperatives, have been pioneers in developing the rights of association and creating business associations. Today, the overwhelming majority of noncorporate business associations continue to operate in the agricultural sector. In view of the need for a uniform concept, the draft bill does not contain separate cooperative and agricultural forms of association. However, the draft bill does try to provide the greatest possible scope for association among cooperatives. The law will provide proper conditions for the cooperatives to fully implement the cooperative or agricultural features in the forms of association that they establish. It has been mentioned during the debate that problems in determining the value of the land and the Hungarian conditions of land ownership could hinder the establishment of such business associations. The law eliminates legal obstacles when it makes it possible for the sides to evaluate their nonfinancial services involved in the partnership—their so-called contribution [apport]—in a manner that deviates from their book value. In addition, adequate preparations have been made to modify the law on land.

Kalman Kulcsar then also mentioned the fact that so far conditions for transforming certain economic forms into other forms have generally not been adequately provided

for in Hungarian law. The preparation of such a law has just begun. Such a law would regulate the issue of various forms of business associations transforming themselves into other forms—for example, a limited liability association switching into a stock corporation, or vice versa. The law would regulate the merger of business associations, taking into consideration factors that preserve competition, in the spirit of avoiding monopolies. This law would also describe the conditions for transforming state enterprises and cooperatives into business associations, because the law on business partnerships additionally stipulates that economic organizations, including state enterprises and cooperatives, can also be transformed into business associations. Kalman Kulcsar then drew attention to the fact that such a law regulating the aforementioned transformation could only be created at the same time as the modification of the law on state enterprises and cooperatives. In itself, the fact that the law on transformation will only be submitted to parliament at a later date does not affect the ability of the law on business associations to function. Although we have always lacked such a transformation law, there have been opportunities for enterprises to be transformed into stock corporations. Very few countries in the world have such a transformation law, and the general regulations of the laws on business associations generally also cover the methods of transformations. Hungary, however, needs such a transformation law, but it must be repeatedly stressed that the failure to create the two laws simultaneously would not hinder the implementation of the law on business associations.

Kalman Kulcsar pointed out that professional debates had raised the question of the failure of this business association law to apply to cooperatives. The provisions of the law regulate the business associations set up by cooperatives, while previously, the trade law used to regulate the cooperatives together with other forms of economic association. In the well-known process of social and economic changes following 1945, cooperatives in Hungry received separate legal regulations. There is a law on cooperatives and a law on agricultural cooperatives in force, and high-level regulations govern the other cooperative activities, too. Also, the National Assembly even "modernized" the law on cooperatives in the spring of 1988. In this situation, therefore, as a result of the traditions of the cooperative movement in Hungary, the possibility and necessity of incorporating the cooperatives into this business association law became questionable. Besides, such an "incorporation" would have greatly endangered the clarity of the new law because it would have increased the length of the law by several hundred paragraphs.

However, we should not forget that the cooperative is a special kind of business association. It cannot be regarded exclusively as a partnership of capital, because, as a result of its special cooperative principles, it also has the special features of being a partnership between people. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to regulate cooperatives by means of an independent law which should be in harmony with the basic principles of the law on business associations.

Kalman Kulcsar then spoke about the partnership opportunities for individual citizens. He pointed out that contrary to the past, citizens will be able to form economic partnerships with domestic and foreign economic organizations without restrictions. Purely private individuals will also be able to set up corporate bodies, like a limited liability partnership or a joint stock corporation. It will be possible to set up economic partnerships without personal participation, exclusively through financial contribution, or to participate in them. Kalman Kulcsar also pointed out that the draft bill made it possible for private citizens to establish private, one-person limited liability partnerships, and that this would provide new opportunities for small artisans and private tradesmen.

"In these legal decrees, we have set out to avoid administrative obstacles preventing citizens from setting up such ventures. As experience has shown, in addition to being extremely easy to circumvent, these administrative obstacles are also discriminatory in nature. By various means of market intervention, the state can keep an eye on ventures involving private individuals, should this become necessary. Thus, there is no justification for any special permits for the establishment of joint stock corporations made up of private citizens. However, the law does not make it possible to set up closed corporations or to refuse oversubscription by the state, so that, if necessary, the state could transform a joint stock corporation made up exclusively of private individuals by purchasing the shares. As an ultimate guarantee, which has come under debate from various viewpoints, the law also contains a stipulation according to which the number of employees in a business association comprised exclusively of domestic private individuals cannot exceed 500 people. In the case of economic business work partnerships, this number also includes the members engaged in private activity.

"Therefore, to sum things up, by greatly modifying the current regulations on the number of members and employees, private citizens' ventures have been given many more opportunities. However, in jointly evaluating all its stipulations, the law lays the foundations for the development of a mixed economy in which the state clearly controls the key economic positions.

"In order to boost the involvement of foreign working capital, the law will greatly increase the opportunities for foreigners to set up business associations", Kalman Kulcsar pointed out. He also stressed that, according to the law, foreigners will also be able to set up business partnerships with Hungarian private individuals and that all six forms of association stipulated in the law will also apply to foreigners. They can establish not only corporate bodies and mixed enterprises, but can also participate in simpler

and smaller ventures, in addition to being able to establish business associations made up entirely of foreigners, with 100-percent foreign ownership.

Faster Permit-Issuing Procedures [subhead]

"Much justified criticism has been directed at the complexity and slow rate at which permits needed for the establishment of mixed enterprises are issued, and this in itself has hindered foreigners' participation in business partnerships. This has, no doubt, also contributed to the stipulation of the law according to which, should the foreign share be under 50 percent, no special permits are required for the registration of business associations by the courts. However, the main reason behind these measures is the need to signal a basic change in concepts rather than the slow rate of permit issuance—namely that, in a normal economic cooperation, we do not intend to include obstacles that are alien to economic activities, look for loopholes, and find half solutions, but rather we seek to develop our foreign economic relations in a clear framework.

"Special permits—namely the joint permission of the finance minister and trade minister—are needed only when the foreign partner holds a majority of shares. In these cases, it might be necessary to give priority to Hungarian state interests. Similar regulations are also in force in most of the countries in the world. In order to accelerate the permit-issuing procedure, the draft bill stipulates that if the authorities in question do not reply within 90 days, the permit will be considered to be granted. No doubt, the partial liberalization of the system of currency authority permission also involves a certain risk for the Hungarian people's economy. It can happen, for example, that a foreigner takes out more hard currency than he has brought to the country. Taking all these factors into consideration, we have still started from the premise of a normal and rational economic approach, and we should always rely on this approach and on the encouragement of this approach when regulating our economy. Therefore, in the current situation in which most of our foreign partners are trying to establish a long-term economic presence in Hungary, the emerging risks can and should be accepted. I declare here that a law governing the conditions and protection of foreign investments is currently under preparation. This law will organize the financial, labor affairs, and other regulations concerning foreign participation into a uniform system. Thus, domestic and foreign entrepreneurs will be able to acquaint themselves with the entire complexity of these regulations even prior to the enforcement of the business association law due on 1 January 1989. Hopefully, this will also contribute to the spread of more developed forms of international economic cooperation."

In conclusion, Kalman Kulcsar spoke about the preparation of the law:

Useful Professional Debates [subhead]

"The most competent parliamentary committees discussed the basic principles of this law this spring, and then, for the first time in our parliamentary practice, all the deputies received the first draft of the bill. On the basis of this draft, consultations were held with some groups of deputies, and several deputies also submitted written observations. In formulating the final draft, we tried to increasingly include the observations made during the parliamentary preparations.

"Professional debates in public organizations, in bodies representing various interests, and in scientific institutions were also organized in two rounds. In forming the working group charged with the codification of the draft, we saw to it that an adequate balance existed between representatives of the state administration and enterprise bodies, and of theory and practice. On the one hand, we tried to implement the latest scientific achievements, and, on the other, to fulfill practical demands. The professional debates were very useful and contributed greatly to the draft bill." As an example, Kalman Kulcsar mentioned the fact that, as a result of the observations made, the participation of foreigners was greatly simplified, but that also, like many Western countries, we had to continue the practice of registering foreigners, to make sure that foreign investors had a registered firm and that they can purchase only personal shares. The need to represent the interests of various small entrepreneurs was also taken into account, but we could not give up the mainly optional state surplus possibilities [zommel fakultativ allami tobbletlehetosegek] and the credit guarantees which are familiar in the developed capitalist countries. Thus, it will not harm the freedom of a venture if a minimum basic capital stock of 1 million forints is required to establish a limited liability firm, and 10 million forints for joint stock corporations. These are limited liability firms in which a creditor can be repaid only from the firms' assets. The forms of unlimited partnership and deposit partnership which do not require any basic capital apart from the unlimited responsibility of their members are open to small ventures.

Kalman Kulcsar then asked the National Assembly to adopt the draft bill, together with the supplementary and modifying observations made by the legal, administrative, and justice committees, whose observations have been accepted by the government.

### CPSU Officials Attend Moscow Days Concert

*AU1710151688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 88 p 1*

[PAP report: "A Friendship Concert at the Palace of Culture and Science"]

[Text] The "Moscow Days" that started in Warsaw on 10 October are the first major and comprehensive presentation of the life and culture of the Soviet capital for a long time.

In connection with the "days," an official delegation came to Warsaw, headed by Lev Zaykov, CPSU Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; and Valeriy Saynik, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet. They attended the ceremonious opening of the "days," a concert of friendship at the Palace of Culture and Science involving well-known Moscow actors, singers, and groups.

Roman Malinowski, Andrzej Wasilewski, and the city fathers came. USSR Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov was also present.

Opening the "days," Lev Zaykov and Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, stressed that last year's "Warsaw Days" in Moscow and this year's "Moscow Days" in Warsaw are a continuation of the long-established cooperation between the capitals of the friendly countries. They also permit both cities to acquire new experiences and provide an opportunity to tighten the friendly direct contacts between Muscovites and Varsovians.

The rich program at the Palace of Culture and Science enabled the people of Warsaw to acquaint themselves with the latest Moscow cultural scene. Apart from classical music, there were performances by rock bands, circus acts, and children.

### Rakowski Congratulates CSSR's Adamec

*AU1710125888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Oct 88 p 2*

[Congratulatory message from Premier M. Rakowski to CSSR's Premier L. Adamec]

[Text] To Comrade Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government in Prague:

Esteemed Comrade Adamec, on your appointment as chairman of the CSSR Government, I send you sincere congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the Polish Government and on my own behalf.

I am deeply convinced that under the new conditions of the changes in our countries, the long and comprehensive Polish-CSSR cooperation will continue to consolidate and develop in the spirit of fraternal friendship for the benefit of our two countries, the socialist community, and the cause of peace in Europe and the world. Esteemed Comrade Adamec, please accept our cordial wishes for good health and prosperity and for every success in your responsible work for the good of the CSSR.

Signed: Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers.

### Olechowski Interviewed on 43d UN Session

*AU1210213688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 88 pp 1, 6*

[Interview with Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, by Ludwik Arendt, PAP's New York correspondent, in New York: "A New Tone and Climate"—date not given]

[Text] In an interview given to PAP's New York correspondent, Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, pointed to the new tone and climate surrounding the 43d UN General Assembly and drew attention to the "positive evolution of the American side's approach to the further development of mutual relations" between Poland and the United States. The following is an abridged version of the interview:

[Arendt] Mr Minister, the general debate at the General Assembly is still in progress, but it is already taking a certain form. How would you describe it? What are the most important issues for Poland at this session?

[Olechowski] The most striking thing about the general debate at the current UN General Assembly session is the new tone and climate surrounding it, a greater feeling of optimism than in previous years, and, at the same time, greater expectations.

The favorable changes in the international situation, especially in relations between the USSR and the United States, are the main reason for this. Satisfaction is being universally expressed at the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles and so are hopes for a further agreement, on a radical reduction in strategic weapons, above all.

The second question (after disarmament), one that occupies the most time in all the speeches, are regional conflicts. The signing of the Geneva treaties on Afghanistan, the cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war, the progress that has been made in efforts to find a political settlement to the Cambodian problem, and the intensive efforts that are being made to obtain independence for Namibia have not only been noted with respect, but have provided an incentive for increased efforts to peacefully resolve other conflicts and remove sources of tension.

Third, a very extensive and increasingly important area of debate is discussion of the issues that we have become accustomed to describing as contemporary global challenges: the growing gulf between the developed and the

developing states, the crushing burden of debt, and the growing ecological threat. During the debate, the opinion that has been resolutely expressed is that effectively meeting these challenges is only possible within the framework of broad international cooperation, in which the United Nations should play a leading role. This also applies to the plagues tormenting mankind such as international terrorism, drug addiction, and AIDS.

What deserves to be particularly stressed is the fact that after years of universal complaints about the impotence of the United Nations Organization, there has been an unprecedented increase in the prestige of the organization and the respect shown for it. This also applies to its general secretary in the light of the effective efforts that have been made to solve regional conflicts.

[Arendt] You have held many bilateral meetings. What issues were discussed, and what can we expect from these meetings?

[Olechowski] This is true. I used my stay in New York to hold numerous meetings with my colleagues from other countries. I had a total of 33 meetings, which does not include the many casual talks that I had. What was discussed during the meetings was determined by the particular state of mutual relations with individual countries. A subject common to all the talks were problems relating to economic and political cooperation as well as finding ways of developing them further. The changes and the directions of the reforms taking place in Poland were also of great interest to the people that I spoke to.

The meetings provided a good opportunity to exchange views on international issues. However, what was discussed during these talks differed. What we discussed with ministers representing socialist states were the directions of our joint activities within the United Nations Organization. The main things discussed during our talks with European ministers were prospects for the rapid completion of the Vienna CSCE meeting and the commencement of negotiations on conventional disarmament in Europe as well the question of security and confidence-building measures. I set out Poland's viewpoint on these issues, and our contribution to the disarmament process, including the Jaruzelski Plan.

During our talks with ministers from Middle Eastern states, we discussed the difficult situation that still exists in that part of the world and the efforts being made to find political solutions.

The people we spoke to were interested in Poland's position on practically all current world problems. We talked about Afghanistan, South Africa, Central America, Cambodia, and Cyprus.

One important thing from our point of view were the issues connected with the state of negotiations between Poland and the Common Market that were discussed during our talks with ministers of EEC countries as well as with Willy de Clerq, the commissioner for EEC external affairs. These are very important issues for us, because current restrictions on access for Polish goods to the community's markets affect our ability to service and pay off Poland's debt, 65 percent of which is owed to these countries.

An important subject discussed during our talks with Western European ministers and U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz were our negotiations with the Paris Club, the IMF, and the World Bank.

The people we spoke to expressed their readiness to support the proposals that we have made to the EEC and international financial organizations.

Our meetings with some ministers were devoted to jointly overcoming the obstacles standing in the way of further developing mutual relations. One thing that I would like to point out here is that we discussed the establishment of diplomatic relations with the foreign minister of the United Arab Emirates.

All the meetings confirmed that there is sympathetic interest in the scope and direction of our internal reforms.

[Arendt] How do you assess the state of Polish-American relations since your official visit to Washington in July of this year?

[Olechowski] The state of relations between Poland and the United States today is the product of the process whereby a gradual normalization of these relations is taking place. At the present time it is a question of strengthening the positive trends in the political dialogue that is taking place between our states and in economic cooperation.

Recently, political dialogue has assumed a significant degree of momentum. Following my visit to Washington in July—the first such visit in 9 years—I had another meeting with Secretary of State George Schultz at his initiative in New York a few days ago. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead will be visiting Poland shortly.

Interparliamentary contacts are also increasing. We have played host to many influential members of Congress in Poland. Last year Sejm Vice Marshal Roman Malinowski paid a visit to the United States. We are expecting leaders of Congress to take part in the Warsaw conference for parliamentary leaders from Europe, the United States, and Canada.

During the meetings and talks we noted a positive evolution in the approach of the American side to further developing mutual relations. Keen interest is being displayed in the process of reform taking place in Poland. We would like to believe that this interest will also be reflected in practical actions that will assist the realization of Polish economic proposals, and that this

will also apply to international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. We are hoping that our proposals concerning the long-term rescheduling of the Polish debt will be met halfway.

Bilateral economic cooperation also has to be stepped up. In fact, this important matter is currently being discussed at the session of the Polish-American economic council being held in Washington.

[Arendt] What impression are you going to take away with you from the United Nations Organization?

[Olechowski] The main impression is that the feeling that mankind shares a common lot is incomparably stronger than all the differences and specific interests that divide states.

### Rakowski Attends Sejm Presidium Meeting 17 Oct

*LD1710215288 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1925 GMT 17 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 17—Mr Prime Minister, not so long ago you sat in this place as a deputy Sejm (Polish parliament) speaker, and for sure it was more rewarding, joked Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski while opening the meeting of the Sejm Presidium in Warsaw today. The meeting was attended by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula.

The meeting discussed the activity of the Sejm during the autumn session till January 1989, and in this context bills to be presented by the government.

A discussion focused on the national economy. It is up to the government to decide whether to submit the consolidation programme to the Sejm. What is important for parliament are the results of corrections stemming from this programme for the central annual plan, 1988 budget and national socio-economic. [sentence as received]

Next, the Sejm speaker recalled that the Sejm did not accept the proposal made by the previous premier to replace these three draft acts with the stabilization plan. The central annual plan and its original assumptions have been in the Sejm for some time, and the government is to present either new assumptions or amendments to the original ones.

After the discussion, there was a general agreement that it would be extremely difficult for the government to present a draft 1989 budget on the statutory date of November 15.

The Sejm Presidium will ask the Sejm for a single change of the date. The meeting spoke about December 10 as a deadline so that the first reading of the draft budget could take place at the last Sejm meeting scheduled for December.

### Rakowski Urges 'Harmonious' Sejm-Government Ties

*LD1710202388 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1823 GMT 17 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 17—Referring to the future relations between the Polish Government and the Sejm (parliament), Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski told PAP that there should be a harmonious cooperation between the two bodies.

"I used to work here (in the Sejm) so I know what the Sejm demands from the government. With a due respect for the parliament, for the legislative body, the government will strive to do its best to make all the documents and bills provided to the Sejm be as mature as possible. [no closing quotation marks as received]

### Ministers Express Their Policy Views, Goals

*AU1810101588 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*
*15-16 Oct 88 pp 1, 5*

[Unattributed report: "RZECZPOSPOLITA Asks: What Is Your Credo?"]

[Text] The Sejm has appointed a new government. In his expose describing the ministerial and vice ministerial candidates, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that these are people who are open and unconventional in deed, people who do not need encouragement about the reform. RZECZPOSPOLITA reporters asked them what their credo is.

Ireneusz Sekula [a new deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers]: Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said in his Sejm expose that the government would be more consistent in its work. This overriding principle will also guide my own work, and will certainly guide that of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee. I will also try to introduce the socially accepted principle of "whatever is not forbidden is allowed." This requires the lifting of many barriers and restrictions and an end to excessive legal regulations, so that things that are forbidden are not the only ones that are allowed. A law issued by a higher office should not be saturated with detailed regulations from lower-level bodies, because this will lead to many unforeseen bans. Therefore, the principle "it is forbidden to forbid" and consistent care that it is not violated is a condition necessary to make life easier and simplify our excessive office procedures. Numerous bans are like weeds that keep growing and have to be uprooted all the time.

Michal Janiszewski [head of the Office of the Council of Ministers]: Among society's assets, I would mention the right to have good authorities. By good authorities I mean those who consistently aim toward their objectives, do not cast words to the wind, and insure an efficient performance of tasks. Therefore, this means the authorities should make as few mistakes as possible,

even though, being human, they cannot be perfect. On the other hand, the authorities must act on the threshold of calculated risk. I have in mind our entire state administration.

I am concentrating on the duty to give the premier and government leadership the best conditions under which to perform their work, and on ways of building the government's prestige and increasing people's trust in ministers, voivodas, and chief executives. This is the fulcrum of the government machinery, especially that of the Office of the Council of Ministers, which it is once again my responsibility to lead. My work will also involve voivodship and rural district offices.

That is all we should do, and I am sure we will do it better and better. Let state officials gain a better opinion.

Czeslaw Kiszczak [minister of internal affairs]: Above all, I will consistently discharge the tasks that remain the responsibility of the ministry, whose overriding principle is a respect for the law and a consolidation of the rule of law.

Protecting state security and the lives, health, and property of citizens remains a constant task. This will be done by fighting common crime effectively and with militancy, and insuring order and calm in public places.

I consider the right conditions for an undisturbed implementation of the state and economic reform process to be of exceptional importance. The ministry has a definite role to play here. The point is to indicate and remove all barriers and combat dangerous economic distortions, because these have a direct and indirect effect on the standard of living. I have in mind mismanagement, waste, and speculation.

At the same time, I declare that the ministry remains open to remarks, suggestions, even criticism on how to improve our work to the advantage of citizens.

Florian Siwicki [minister of national defense]: It is a great honor for me to be entrusted with this highly responsible position a second time. Because I continue to hold my post, there are no new problems for me. However, several issues will require a new approach.

First of all, understanding the need to adapt to the present economic situation and the urgent need to emerge from the crisis, I believe the Army wants to contribute and should contribute to this work. Taking our defensive doctrine and present world military-political situation into consideration (the danger is diminishing, but not disappearing), I think certain changes can be made, changes involving quality, not quantity. A reconstruction of military elements and the selective adoption of new military technology will certainly have a bearing on the state budget. Our defense costs money, but this spending should suit possibilities. However, and I stress this, it may not affect state security.

Second, I think it is essential to continue to involve the Army in the production of goods. The Army will support our economy wherever necessary and possible. For example, we want to continue our work in land improvement and the construction of reservoirs. In accordance with the priority attached to agriculture by the premier, I think we can find the resources and technology to support this economic sphere.

Izabela Planeta-Malecka [new minister of health and social welfare]: I think society's health should be one of the state's most important strategic objectives. Without it one cannot expect any economic success. I think it is also high time to dispense with the myth that the health service is nonproductive. An army of 800,000 people in white coats who combat disease with dedication, sometimes under very difficult conditions, is an asset that we all take advantage of.

We must also establish a new philosophy of thinking about the health service and social security, a philosophy that permits the solution of all painful problems, raises the prestige of medical employees, and assures dignified working and living conditions.

I am a pediatrician, and I know very well that health needs to be looked at from a broad angle. Comprehensive health care has to start before a child is born, and it has to continue all his life.

Wladyslaw Loranc [still minister of religious affairs]: A minister of religious affairs must remember that Poland is a country with 43 religious denominations, 36 of which are Christian denominations with over 1.5 million people. The Roman Catholic Church has over 33.5 million members; atheists and agnostics constitute about 2 million; and the rest belong to other religions. This information provides the first conclusion—state-church relations, which have always been important in the history of Poland, are now among the most important problems in our social lives, not just for statistical reasons, but also for historical and political ones. Our religious policy has been stable for the past 32 years. In this sphere there is no need to look for a variation of a plan, as in the case of the economic sphere. Because we have resumed the best progressive traditions of the Polish people, it is necessary to continue basing ourselves on three democratic principles: the equality of all citizens, irrespective of religion or conviction; the church's separation from the state, and the equality of all religions.

All forces and the entire activity of all officials have to be made subordinate to the policy of national accord, but we are giving the idea of an accord a precise definition. Obviously, the point is not an accord between the authorities and society, because 2.8 million adult Poles already belong to the allied parties, a major and influential force. The point is an accord between the left wing and the opposition. The point is to consolidate and perpetuate the accord between the state and the churches. If we isolated the millions of leftwingers and their allies from society and

regarded the 24,000-plus clergymen of various denominations as a separate nation, we would live in a world of chaos. One must not view religion and churches from a purely political angle, but one should build an accord with clergymen and believers in order to guarantee the economy its ability to develop and effectively protect the Polish raison d'etat. This credo should be properly understood and competently implemented, if there are enough forces and resources.

Jacek Fisiak [new minister of national education]: Although people might think I will accord preferential treatment to colleges because I am a professor and principal of a college in Poznan, I wish to assure you that I will treat all spheres of national education equally. In any case, as far back as 1981 I called for a merger of the ministries of general and higher education. Educating the young generation is a single stream of interconnected and mutually interdependent activity. That is why efficient and modern primary and secondary schools and colleges will all be of equal importance to me.

I would like to take advantage of the work of the Committee of Experts and the experience of teachers, and for this to lead to the working out of a program of education that would replace the 19th-century general curriculum and introduce specialization at least in the final 2 years of secondary school, perhaps even in primary schools—a program that would permit the selection of specialized subjects according to a pupil's abilities. This calls for good, modern textbooks.

Being aware of the state of our education and comparing it with education in other countries, I am very sad that the teaching profession has lost its prestige in Poland, and at all levels. I will try to bring back its former prestige. I know the problems connected with educational administration, and I know they cannot be solved without proper incentives, including financial ones, for inspectors, and without creating bigger, stronger units.

As far as higher educational establishments are concerned, I think their independence should be increased. I intend to increase the powers of principals. I also want to facilitate contacts and cooperation with foreign countries. In my opinion, the ministry ought to be a body that lays down educational policy and then coordinates and controls it.

I believe that laws and directives should not constrain the work of educational establishments and define the scope of their work to the exact centimeter. Although we will have to amend some acts, for example the higher education act, I do not intend to carry out a major revolution in education.

## Jaruzelski Voices Concern Over Environment

*AU1410202688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Oct 88 p 6*

[PAP-attributed 'theses' of speech by State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 5 October session of the State Council's Consultative Council in Warsaw]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski related to the problems discussed by the 5 October session of the State Council's Consultative Council in his concluding speech. Here are some theses of this speech:

—The environmental situation is bad, I share the council's concern in that respect. We must tell and are telling the truth about the state of the environment. These problems are public in every sense of the word. We are not concealing them nor playing them down. They are being exposed to public criticism, and the press is also criticizing them.

—Speaking about these generally complex issues should encourage people to solve them. It should not create complexes and paranoia.

—I was moved by the recent meeting with the president of the Club of Rome, the distinguished scholar Professor King. He told me of the great threat that is hanging over the planet. Because of the heat being emitted to the atmosphere by various energy sources, a disaster could occur relatively soon. Agriculture would be affected first. It is not only countries with environmental problems that are responsible for this, but also the richest and most highly industrialized ones.

—We are not paying enough attention to the danger in which the world, including Poland, has found itself. We must deal with environmental matters more extensively, and view them in their correct proportions. In this context, let me recall the statement by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee about the effects of the arms race on the environment and environmental safety.

—Factors which are the objective result of the development of civilization are causing irreversible changes. From the point of view of nature, the world of today is different to what it was 200, 100, or even 50 years ago. For example, the world population has risen severalfold. This bears certain consequences. Mankind is consuming more and more energy and processing more and more raw materials. Conurbations with millions of people are emerging, bringing with them an entire series of complex issues concerning living conditions, for example.

—But there are also subjective factors, to which one should devote no less attention, in other words everything that depends on people and is the result of error, carelessness, and neglect.

—It would be wrong to adopt the line of thinking reflected in the saying "the government is driving the country to drink," which has been quoted today. This is the easiest way to explain the fact that Polish society consumes a lot of alcohol, to put it mildly. If we tried to simplify ecological problems the same way as this, we would be saying "the government is poisoning the people." Therefore, an objective approach to and comprehensive information about environmental problems and the habit of thinking about them are exceedingly important.

—The talks have emphasized the fact that human initiative, enterprise, and energy are capable of increasing by many times the effectiveness of undertakings designed to protect the environment. I fully agree. I have in mind the meeting here in the Belvedere, the scout rally in Grunwald, and the meeting with representatives of the "I Prefer To Exist" ["Wole Byc"] youth movement. These are wonderful young people. How many valuable ideas, how much initiative they have!

—A universal cultivation of the habit of caring for the environment is essential in order to achieve progress in this sphere. Not even a maximum investment effort is enough if people themselves neglect their surroundings, tidiness, and hygiene. Apart from considerable resources and complex technology, effective environmental protection also calls for social sensitivity and a sense of esthetics and culture.

While indicating, and rightly too, the need to build, expand, and modernize equipment that reduces air, water, and soil pollution, we must not for a single moment shun the reality of the entire Polish economy. Without an accelerated economic development and without an increase in the national income, one cannot imagine further economic changes.

—Even so, during the greatest crisis, three times as much resources have been allocated to environmental protection than before the crisis. These resources have had to be diverted from other equally important socioeconomic objectives, in other words at the cost of other needs in our lives.

—Someone said that the building of nuclear power stations is being abandoned more and more. But please remember that in France and Belgium, 60 percent of all electricity comes from nuclear power plants, in Sweden over 40 percent of it does, in Switzerland 34 percent, and in Bulgaria 30 percent. It is easy to say one is abandoning nuclear energy when one means keeping it at the present powerful level.

—Poland is a leader in various kinds of proposals concerning environmental matters, for example the idea that I presented at the 40th UN General Assembly session about a free flow of experience, licenses, and technology serving environmental protection, or the idea of setting up a European Council for Environmental Protection presented at last year's PRON congress.

—The highly developed countries are trying more and more to impose some of their environmental problems on lower-developed or developing countries. This is a kind of ecological aggression. How else can one describe the practice of storing industrial and communal waste in poorer countries, or setting up production there which is particularly onerous to the environment? Highly developed countries are also blocking a flow of technology, contrary to the idea that I presented to the United Nations. They are taking advantage of their economic superiority and monopoly in the manufacture of equipment designed to protect the environment. Thus they are becoming rich at the expense of weaker and poorer countries.

—The most important matter is to expand the platform of work for the sake of the environment and accelerate this work. In particular, the point is that words of encouragement, instruction, and warning should be spoken from party rostrums, church pulpits, and college podiums, and that they should all serve the same purpose: to create a social climate for joint undertakings designed to cultivate environmental culture and discipline. Of course one cannot expect immediate results, but I believe this is an exceptionally important path of investments.

## Rakowski Meets With Business, Government Leaders

### Receives Culture Council Leader

*LD0810202388 Warsaw PAP in English 1731 GMT 8 Oct 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 8—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski met here today with chairman of the National Council for Culture, Professor Bogdan Suchodolski.

The two discussed the most vital problems of cultural life in Poland, of creative milieus and the Culture Council's current activities.

### Addresses Enterprise Managers

*AU1310154588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Oct 88 p 2*

[Report by Andrzej Leszczynski: "Dialogue on the Same Wavelength"]

[Excerpts] "As you know, right now I am holding many talks on the subject of the government's composition and its paths of action. I felt I also had to meet with you because you are economic experts," said Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at a meeting of several dozen enterprise managers from all over Poland on 7 October.

"The economy occupies a major place in the country's life," he continued. "Without economic progress, political and social renewal could find itself in a blind alley. But neither can the economy develop if it is cut off from politics, culture, and spiritual life.

"Of course," he said, " I could read everything you have said in this hall and on previous occasions. But reading is one thing, and meeting a live person and hearing what he has to say is another. That is why, as premier, I will want to meet enterprise managers from time to time. I am counting on your help and advice."

Speaking about the future government, the premier announced the formation of a Council of Ministers Economic Committee, which will exercise practical control over economic policy. He also said that the structure of the government will remain unchanged, though he did not rule out changes later on, after the Council of Ministers had been appointed. Personnel changes are necessary, society is expecting them. However, what remains to be considered is whether ministers who have only recently taken up their office, for example last year, should not be allowed to implement their conceptions. [passage omitted]

At the end of the meeting, Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski spoke again. He supported calls for simple and rational economic solutions. However, he said, this will be a long and difficult process. But it will be possible to implement provided that social forces, including industrial managements, are mobilized.

The premier supported the idea of creating a society of employers. He admitted that a simplification of the system of accountability is a necessary condition for a reduction in the size of the administration. He spoke out in favor of a rationalization of the system of state control. Referring to the problem of employment, he spoke out in favor of tidying up employment policy in order to meet the needs of a modern, efficient economy.

"I am leaving this meeting with the conviction that we are all working on the same wavelength," he said. "That is important. After all, an enterprise is an important socioeconomic unit. For this reason, the government needs suggestions and advice from enterprise managements."

### Speaks on Meeting With Mangagers

*LD0708232688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Oct 88*

[Text] Problems connected with the functioning of enterprises were discussed today by [Premier] Mieczyslaw Rakowski and a group of 60 directors. Immediately after the meeting Magdalena Winiarczyk asked the premier for a short interview.

[Begin recording] [Winiarczyk] Mr Premier, your announcement at the beginning of the meeting that you would like to meet regularly with the directors of large enterprises has been confirmed by today's meeting.

[Rakowski] Yes, of course. The directors' statements, and their remarks concerning the operation of the economic system and economic reform, were very interesting and, I would say, very fresh.

[Winiarczyk] What have you learned from today's meeting? Despite the fact that you said that you participate in economic problems not as a practicing economist nor as a theoretician, nevertheless you were interested in it. But did they say anything new today?

[Rakowski] Nothing very new, they only confirmed certain of my observations, things I knew already. They also broadened my knowledge about enterprises and the problems which they face today.

[Winiarczyk] What problems at the moment do you consider to be the most important in light of the meeting?

[Rakowski] It is difficult to reply off the cuff, but mainly the creation of a situation in which an enterprise can see that it can plan development policy over a period of 1-2 years, not fearing that in 6 months time an order will arrive forcing them to change a profile, or to make this or that correction. They simply confirmed what I already knew, based on some experience, that stability is necessary—stability of regulations and stability of various development concepts in economic life. That is understandable.

[Winiarczyk] I take it that your government will strive toward the creation of such situation?

[Rakowski] It must, it must. Otherwise it will be a bad government. [end recording]

### Rakowski Addresses Businessmen

*AU1910115488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 88 pp 1,2*

[Report on speech by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at his 15 October meeting with businessmen of Polish descent, attending the Polonian Economic Forum in Poznan]

[Text] Speaking to businessmen at the Polonian Economic Forum in Poznan, M. Rakowski said:

I would like you to leave Poland with the conviction that Poland will continue to follow the road of reforming our socioeconomic system, because the process of reforms is a historic process, one during which we learn to view various phenomena in various ways and during which we create new institutions. We appreciate the role of Polonia and its enormous intellectual and material potentials.

I have asked the Sejm marshal to halt the Sejm proceedings concerning the bill on economic activities based on foreign capital, because, as has been stressed by various bodies, it is most necessary to make certain basic changes in the present bill. The bill has also been criticized by various agencies, including the Polonia Economic Commission. I wish to state that the new bill will be submitted to the Sejm after various postulates have been included in it.

Speaking of the need to simplify and to make less formal various administrative procedures and regulations, M. Rakowski promised that the government would resolutely seek to exploit all extra possibilities in order to enrich Poland and to promote its economic development.

Polonian capital has a great role to play in this undertaking, and I warmly encourage you to actively and extensively cooperate with us in our economic and other activities, because such cooperation is beneficial for our countrymen throughout the world and for our country, M. Rakowski concluded.

### Attends Organizers Congress

*AU1910115388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 88 p 2*

[Andrzej Leszczynski report: "Third Congress of Organizers Ends"]

[Text] The Third Congress of Organizers, which ended in Torun on 15 October, was attended by Premier Rakowski on the same day. The congress discussed its position on various issues.

I have come here in my own interest to a certain extent, M. Rakowski told the congress, because I want the cadre of managers to support the government and to find a common language with us. The realization of these and other key tasks needs the participation and support of the organizers of our lives, the cadre of managers, and the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration.

While stressing the importance of political changes, M. Rakowski said that the economy is of paramount significance and that tapping complicated unused economic potential, stemming inflation, and halting the flow of worthless money are especially important tasks. Referring to the position he had taken during his meeting with enterprise managers, M. Rakowski once again backed the idea of setting up the organization of employers and praised the achievements of the congress and of the cadre of managers.

Following lively plenary and group discussions, the congress formulated its position on various issues. The resolution was adopted by a decisive majority of votes, with two opposing votes and 12 abstentions. The resolution assessed as critical the condition of organization and management and agreed that the Stalinist model of socialism, which has prevailed for many years, was the main cause of this condition.

Overcoming the relics of the ineffective concept of management calls for:

—Resolutely changing the present economic system into the socialist market economy;

—Freedom of economic activities, while preserving the equality of all sectors of the economy;

—Creating new political mechanisms in order to achieve social accord under conditions of pluralism.

The Third Congress of Organizers asked the state authorities to:

—Search for organizational talents and promote effective training of managing cadres;

—Confer a professional status on managing cadres;

—Grant equal treatment to organizational and technological progress.

The third congress also postulated improvements in organizational structures of the economy and enterprises, the development of the sciences and of organization, and recommendations for the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration.

Appraising the congress immediately after its conclusion, Professor Henry Sadownik, chairman of the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration, said: The congress has promised to create a good climate for the development of organization and management in all sectors of life. Wlodzimierz Hausner, deputy chairman of the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration, said: The congress has taken a very important step in integrating the community of people who deal with organization on a professional basis. Professor Andrzej Straszak of the Polish Academy of Sciences said: The congress has reiterated the need to level off the positions of organizational and technological progress.

### Kubasiewicz at 'Grass Roots' PZPR Meeting

*AU1210125488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Oct 88 p 7*

[Report by Maria Olszewska: "Janusz Kubasiewicz Among the Ochota Aktiv: We Are Analyzing Mistakes and Boldly Defending Achievements"]

[Excerpts] "There are many questions that primary party organization comrades ask every day—questions about everything connected with the situation of the party today. However, I have actually stopped asking questions, I express doubts instead: Must it be the case that

the entire party, all its members, must get a thrashing every couple of years" —there is a hint of bitterness about Janusz Jurczak's conclusion.

Jan Szenfeld continued in this vein: "We fought from the very beginning, we believed that we were fighting for something better, but now I cannot get rid of the impression that the party, by assuming responsibility for everything that is wrong, is heading downhill."

Not only they, experienced people who have been in the party for more than 30 years, talked about their concern, disappointment virtually, about the condition of the party during a meeting of the Ochota [district of Warsaw] PZPR District Committee, where Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and PZPR Voivodship Committee first secretary, met primary party organization first secretaries from more than 150 plants yesterday [4 Oct]. The Tuesday meeting has become a tradition. The group of activists—they provide leadership to party members in enterprises, represent the interests of the party with respect to what are sometimes large work forces on an everyday basis and they often do so in the context of a difficult political struggle—meets with representatives of higher echelons to exchange views, to obtain information that they lack and, as they themselves say, to communicate the views of the party's "grass roots." [passage omitted]

Janusz Kubasiewicz joined in the polemical debate. He replied to questions and provided extensive explanations for the decisions made by the party's higher bodies. He also expressed his personal opinions as a party member:

"I understand the bitterness felt by party members who look at the past, a past that they share with the party, and meet with criticism and the rejection of everything they have done. This is even more sad in view of the fact that this criticism comes from other comrades, from one's own people. We accept this kind of talk too easily, at times it goes further than that of our political opponents in apportioning all the blame to the party and making it responsible for every mistake. We are not seeking to shed responsibility for mistakes, we are conscientious about drawing attention to them so that we can draw lessons for the future, but let us not forget the achievements. We talk about our achievements courageously, although this is unpopular, because economic failures are what determine people's attitudes.... Although the reform has met with failure in some areas—after all, the first stage of the reform was implemented under what were almost the "worst possible" conditions—it cannot be considered a lost cause. Let us recall concrete things, what we have accomplished, what we have dealt with, what we have improved in the party, within our own circle. These are arguments that can be used in debate with our opponents, these are our arguments, and we need them as well. We are losing out in that we are failing to make sufficient use of them. This even applies to the smallest party cells, to plant party organizations. We are late with information, and this has an immediate impact on attitudes." [passage omitted]

## Michalek Expresses Views on Farm Production

*AU1710132788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Oct 88 p 3*

[Interview with Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, by Halina Dowda: "Production Is the Most Important Task as Long As Our Needs Have Not Been Met"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Dowda] "Poles are interested in richly laden tables." This is what the head of the Public Opinion Research Main Center says. This metaphor also implies criticism of the food economy, for which you are responsible in the party. Richly laden tables are a remote rather than close reality, although the food sector is still defending its positions in the rather disorganized market.

[Michalek] Its defense is quite encouraging in view of various elementary difficulties. The flow of food continues to be disturbed by various uncertainties created by the August strikes, price hikes, and even rumors about prices. It is also uncertainty that makes farmers cut back on grains and hogs and encourages people to build up stocks of food at home.

This year's disturbances in the flow of food have been caused by the lack of balance between the market and the economy, not by reduced supplies or reduced production. [passage omitted]

[Dowda] The principle that industrial and farm wages should be the same continues to create controversies among the economists and nonagricultural worker communities, although what the farmer earns is just a payment for his work.

[Michalek] There is no single universal indicator in this regard. The disparity in incomes demonstrates how much less the rural population earns in comparison with workers in socialized industries. That indicator, which is not free from errors, because very efficient farms and very poor farms are lumped together under the same denominator, has been calculated in the same way for many years—this demonstrates how the incomes of the rural and urban areas develop. It is now absolutely certain that the disparity between those incomes continues to increase. In 1987 the income ratio was 84 to 100. I do not know what it will be this year, but it will certainly not improve.

[Dowda] Even at the end of the seventies that ratio was better.

[Michalek] The ratio of 90 to 100 indicates the critical point at which production profitability begins to decrease, and at which all destructive elements begin to do their work.

[Dowda] How to halt this development? But halting it is only a minimum of what should be done to ensure that stagnation does not turn into a collapse. Farmers and all other people concerned maintain that the food economy should be given priority in the plan for consolidating the economy. Various bodies, which continue to discuss improvements in the economy and the flow of goods, never even mention agriculture and food, as if these two issues did not exist.

[Michalek] That confirms the rule that people begin to remember the needs of the food economy only when the situation of the flow of goods, production, and incomes deteriorates. If the consolidation plan takes into account the fact that food production can determine not only the food situation, but even our living standards, it is unnecessary to talk about a green light for agriculture. Why?

In view of our limited resources we must determine which sectors should be given a red light. Our weakness has been the fact that we have always given a green light to every sector. It is no feat to cry that farming should be given the necessary resources. If you give something to farming you have to take away something from another sector. It is hard enough to decide where to take away something, but actually taking this something is a great feat. I am speaking out of personal experience.

[Dowda] Should not the issue of what certain sectors should be given, what certain sectors should be deprived of, what is necessary from society's view, and what is necessary from the economy's view represent a social consensus and basis for the plan for the consolidation of the economy? We have already seen that a green light for agriculture goes out very quickly when it comes into contact with the structure of the economy, which has been developed for many years with contrary interests—not only with parochial interests of various groups of society—and with people's mentality.

The puzzling lack of consistency in the realization of the correct and good agricultural policy determined jointly by the PZPR and the ZSL—this lack seems to be dodging us—can now be traced back to social forces and individuals who represent them. However, just talking about contrary interests will not eliminate them and will not promote the development of food production.

[Michalek] If the food economy is given priority, we will have to see that it develops accordingly. We talk about balancing the economy, but the entire image presented by farming is distorted by the subsidies for food consumption and not for farm production. We want to increase the role of the market, but information about food prices is thoroughly distorted.

The ratio of retail prices to procurement prices would not interest farmers if this ratio did not determine the lines of farm production. Milk is a classic example: There is every temptation to buy milk in the shop and feed it to calves.

We have been caught in a veritable clinch of subsidies. This year budget subsidies will amount to about Z1.5 billion, which will account for 37 percent of the value of food articles. Farmers are not interested in subsidies if they do not hinder the necessary adjustments of procurement prices, but it is true that we use mainly procurement prices all the time in order to stimulate production.

Economists, including agricultural economists, hold differing views about developing agriculture. The basic view can be expressed by the question of whether we should go for increasing the productivity of soil as the main line of agricultural development, or for labor productivity. The answer to that is extremely easy: Increasing the productivity of soil is the most important task as long as our needs have not been met. The present employment structure is also favorable to this task.

[Dowda] There is a terrible lot to change and negotiate, and, which is most important, achieve, in order to ensure that our tables are richly laden.

[Michalek] Yes, but it is enough to reduce the export of farm produce in order to have an abundance of, say, sugar. The FRG's balance of trade in this respect is negative, despite the fact that the FRG's farm production is very high. Comparing Poland's and the FRG's farm produce turnovers leads to interesting discoveries. Taking into account the differences in consumption and the imports and exports of food articles (without fish, but including condiments) the balance of the FRG's farm trade was negative to the tune of DM25 billion ($13.7 billion) in 1987 and Poland's balance of farm trade was positive both in dollars and in rubles.

Just consider that the FRG has a highly developed agriculture, rich supplies of goods, and a negative balance of farm trade and that we have surpluses of exports over imports. Balancing trade was the principle to be observed. The exports of our food articles to the second payments area account for 19 percent of the value of all our exports to this area, which is a too rapid rate of increase. If we agreed to no more than just balancing exports with imports, and if we supplied the surplus export goods to our shops, the food market and consumers would benefit immediately. But in such a case our credibility of debtors who want to repay their debts would suffer. As you see, agriculture is part and parcel of the entire economy even insofar as the repayment of debts is concerned.

## Satellite TV in Warsaw Suburb Reported

*LD1310062588 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 12 Oct 88*

[Text] Skierniewice, Oct. 12—The residents of Zyrardow, outside Warsaw, inhabited by 40 thousand people,

can watch 10 TV programmes thanks to a satellite dish. The programmes are presented from a local TV studio twice a week in the afternoon and evening hours.

The works have also started to connect two housing estates to satellite TV by cable system.

### Leaders' Public Appearances for 28 Sep-3 Oct

AU710102588 [Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 29 September to 4 October reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (source, date, and page number given in parentheses):

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski received USSR Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov on 28 September. (TRYBUNA LUDU 29 Sep, p 2)

On 1 October, Zbigniew Messner, Politburo member; Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; and Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo candidate member; attended a ceremony at the Silesian Medical Academy in Zabrze to mark this college's 40th anniversary. (TRYBUNA LUDU 2 Oct, p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received the following outgoing ambassadors on 28 September: Bhadung Dhanyangkun of Thailand, Jiri Divis of the CSSR, and Paolo Galli of Italy. (TRYBUNA LUDU 29 Sep, p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the 3 October meeting of the Polish Economic Society. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, Politburo candidate member, attended a teachers' conference in Warsaw on 30 September. (TRYBUNA LUDU 1-2 Oct, p 2)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting on 28 September with the management of the Szczecin Port Authority to discuss the effects of the strike. (TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Sep, p 2)

On 1 October, Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received PRC Ambassador Pei Yuanying. (TRYBUNA LUDU 3 Oct, p 2) On 3 October he attended a ceremony at Warsaw Polytechnic to mark the new academic year and received the new Indian ambassador Gurdip Singh Bedi. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a ceremony marking the new academic year at the Warsaw Agricultural Academy on 30 September. (TRYBUNA LUDU 1-2 Oct, p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, attended a meeting with Silesian party aktivs in Katowice on 29 September, on the subject of PZPR cadres policy. (TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Sep, p 3) On 3 October, he attended a ceremony at the University of Silesia in Katowice to mark the start of the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, chaired this committee's 29 September session. (TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Sep, p 6) On 3 October, he attended a ceremony at Warsaw Polytechnic to mark the start of the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, visited the Poznan trade fair on 2 October. (TRYBUNA LUDU Oct, p 1) On 3 October, he attended a ceremony at the Krakow Agricultural Academy to mark the start of the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, met with Jan Niemoudry, Poland's representative in the WFTU, on 30 September in order to discuss Poland's influence in the WFTU's work. (TRYBUNA LUDU 1-2 Oct, p 2) On 3 October, he attended a ceremony at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow to mark the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

Zygmunt Muranski, PZPR Politburo member, toured colleges in Wroclaw on 30 September and attended college ceremonies to mark the start of the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 1-2 Oct, p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended the 30 September meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Commission. On the same day, he attended a ceremony at Warsaw University to mark the start of the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 1-2 Oct, p 2)

On 1 October, General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, attended a ceremony at the Polish Army General Staff Academy to mark the beginning of the new academic year. (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 2 Oct, p 1)

Zofia Stepien, Politburo member, attended the joint plenum of the Czestochowa Voivodships PZPR and SD Committees on 28 September. (TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Sep, p 3)

Andrzej Wasilewski, Central Committee secretary, attended a 3 October ceremony at the Higher Theatrical School in Warsaw to mark the new academic year. (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Oct, p 2)

## Press Assesses 17th LCY Plenum Session

### 'Far-Reaching Effects' of Plenum

*AU2510133488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Oct 88 p 1*

[Ivan Torov commentary: "'A Barricade' for Caution"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the journalists' least rewarding task at present is to evaluate the scope and results of the just ended marathon and at times dramatic 17th LCY Central Committee session, especially if one considers the fact that no objective assessment can be made without taking into account the country's circumstances and social and political tensions under which this session was convened, and our unique habit of seeing every plenum as the key to our troubles. This plenum was publicly proclaimed in advance as a historic plenum by many ambitious politicians.

If we ignore for a minute emotions, passions, mutual intolerance, megalomaniac and unrealistic expectations, and the quarreling manners of our politicians, there is only one correct way to realistically and in a sober-minded way evaluate the Central Committee's breakthroughs, where it was below the level of the situation and what it demanded from the top party leadership.

If the quality of the session is to be judged according to what was said and concluded, then the far-reaching effects of some positions adopted at the 17th session will certainly be confirmed if we persevere with the strongly expressed call by the Central Committee for the creation of the union of the Yugoslav reformist forces, as well as with its basic premise that the present Yugoslav crisis cannot be surmounted without a thorough reform of socialism.

The ultimate positive outcome of the 17th session will, of course, primarily depend on whether the country's top party leadership, or some other decisionmaking centers, will go a step further from the plenum's discussion. This will also depend on whether they will have strength, on whether they will be ready and have the political will not to let things slip back, whether they themselves will stop being the factor of "producing" old things. If they can demonstrate this in practice, then the 17th session will leave a considerably smaller number of questions and reservations of principle than there are now. Only in this case will the positive assessment of the 17th session not be conditional.

However, the crucial question is: Have the Central Committee and its 17th session started at all to tackle relations in the LCY which led to the present unbearably bad situation in society and the party. In recent years almost all the "braver" decisions of both the Central Committee and the LCY Congress failed their examination at the "barricades" of these relations. The decisions of the recently held LCY conference have also been questioned.

It is indisputable that the 17th session has made breakthroughs that should not be ignored, but the great question is whether the session has started the process of destroying everything that has kept the LC for years in a self-imposed straitjacket? In other words: Will this process not only be started with the start of the party reform and with the 14th congress...?

Therefore, there is a place for sound caution as to what will happen to the mood for reforms in the initial stage (until the 14th congress), not only because there is little time left, but also because of the outstanding question as to whether the 17th session has made the LCY Central Committee more capable of synthesizing Yugoslav politics and ideology and becoming itself the center of the "union of reformist forces." Of course, it should be the true political center of the LCY and its parts that are to a great extent divided through quarrels. If one adds to all this the fact that certain conceptual differences concerning economic and political reforms have been expressed at the 17th session, then the caution would be that more understandable.

Adopting the decision to create a commission for reforming the LCY, the Central Committee obviously went along with the well-known saying: "It is never too late if the job is done properly." A decision to concretize the future vision of the party is certainly a good move by the Central Committee. It has been known for a long time that every social reform, however much desired, will be doomed to failure if its initiators and creators—the LCY in any case—retain obsolete positions and concepts.

This is why today it is very important to know what the reform of the LCY will achieve, whether the reform will pursue the well-known recipe of cosmetic modifications and improvements to the current concept of the party, or whether the reform will involve more profound moves which will facilitate the removal from the LC of everything that currently makes it perfectly federalized on the national level, often perfectly monolithic on the republican-provincial level, and which makes it a state party which, at all levels, holds all the strings in its hands badly and unsuccessfully. The dissolution of the "marriage" between the LC and state authorities is the fundamental prerequisite for freeing the economy and creative initiatives from the guardianship and firm embrace of politics.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium's offer to the LCY Central Committee to hold a secret vote of confidence is a move that deserves every compliment. The way things have been going recently has clearly shown that radical steps must be made. It is partly its own fault that the Presidium has been exposed to very strong pressure for months. It was accused of inconsistent and opportunistic behavior, of bending with the wind, of having difficulty in coping with the increasing national, political, economic, and social dissatisfaction among the masses and its membership. The fact is that the members of the Presidium were burdened by mutual differences,

misunderstanding, and even clashes. This was mainly a consequence of the federalized relations within the leadership, which is to say, of the leadership's being prevented from acting as the real cohesive political center. This was also a consequence of the leadership's lack of readiness to shoulder this burden.

Having found itself in the gulf between its own inability and dramatic events in society, and in view of the fact that four of its members (among whom two are its former presidents) had to tender their resignations for different reasons, the Presidium exposed itself to the risk of a vote of confidence with the intention of receiving a definite answer from the Central Committee as to whether it could continue to work in its present, depleted form. This act—if it becomes standard practice—will itself represent a favorable wind in the sails of the democratization of both the LC and society as a whole, regardless of the fact that the first vote of confidence could have been unfavorable for some other Presidium members, and that it has produced an outcome that was to some extent limited by the current balance of power in the party and by the extremely aggravated climate among the leaderships.

The dramatic discussion on whether to hold a secret vote of confidence, or to extend support to the Presidium without voting, which is to say by acclamation, is also an expression of the current political atmosphere and compounded political and cadre permutations. In this process, some individuals did not even hesitate to mention the theses that a "secret ballot is not democracy."

It is good that the LCY Central Committee Presidium remained firm in its call for a secret ballot and that the Central Committee decided on this by a majority vote. It is good that the party leadership has finally understood the meaning of so-called formal democracy and that this time formal unity did not prevail on such important issues.

However, it will not be good if all this remains a mere temporary "achievement" of the 17th session, an achievement conditioned by the circumstances under which the session was held. Without a vote of confidence as a permanent feature in internal party relations in the country's party leadership, there will not be the very necessary optimum amount of cadre insecurity. Similarly, it will not be good if the announced cadre renewal within the Central Committee itself "generates" less of this kind of insecurity, and if it more or less merely boils down to departures reducing the number of posts held by one person.

## Press Assessments Quoted

*AU2510183388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Oct 88 p 6*

[V. N. Dzafo report: "The Doubting Thomases Lost"]

[Text] The conference hall of the Belgrade Sava Center has not yet "cooled down" and, as expected, the columns of our newspapers have been flooded with reactions and commentaries on everything that was heard and that occurred at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

As Ljubljana DELO said in its 20 October edition: "Not everything that was desired under the present circumstances occurred." In the commentary, "Another Chance for Politics," DELO added: "A lot of things can be forgiven, because the LCY Central Committee demonstrated much responsible wisdom. It made it known more clearly than all the political-executive organs that it will not change the foundations of the Yugoslav federal building and that it will not support such moves." Pointing out the resolution of the LCY Central Committee to change the considerable number of people in the federal party leadership, DELO also says: "Precedence must be given to those people who have already shown that they have firm and progressive attitudes, a developed feeling for understanding other and different people, and great knowledge, but also personal resourcefulness. These are people who do not hit out at poverty while loudly insulting those who, even in the poorest communities, know how to provide a life worthy of man for themselves and their working people."

Differences "Pushed Aside" Because of Common Interests [subhead]

On the same day, NARODNE NOVINE from Nis claimed that some dilemmas had not been cleared up at the 17th plenum. "The question of political responsibility was not sufficiently clearly defined at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee for a long time (and perhaps it remains this way for many people)" stresses NARODNE NOVINE. The newspaper says among other things: "It would be real socialist luck if certain politicians were to have the kind of faces which show when they are blushing—regardless of whether their inconsistency in words and actions, or even exploitation, is proved—while, for example, they hunt big game during official trips with society footing the bill." In conclusion, NARODNE NOVINE says: "Fortunately, the citizens of Yugoslavia can distinguish very well between policy and politicking, and they are decisive in saying for themselves what sort of leaders they need."

KOMUNIST writes in a joint edition in a commentary entitled "Open Opportunities": "Perhaps doubting Thomases will nevertheless remain doubting because the 17th session did not take place in a shaped and uniform way. On the contrary, there were differences, different interpretations, and different approaches at it, just as at previous plenums. However, this time the differences were "pushed aside" in favor of togetherness and unity of the country as its original and social force...." "The tolerance that was expressed at the session regarding one phenomenon or other of our present reality acted and will act as a balm for our wound, and as an opportunity to calm down the overheated political climate in the country and create a working and creative atmosphere everywhere." In the Serbian edition of KOMUNIST, the

commentary "The Voting and the Consequences" says that the course and final document of the session "hinted at decisive and concrete action to find a way out of the crisis, but the session was thwarted at the last minute." "The unity which was achieved with great difficulty at this meeting of hope was destroyed by the ill-considered action of some members of the LCY Central Committee." KOMUNIST claims further that "therefore, the result of the vote could not be interpreted any differently than as a reaction to the policy of the Serbian LC and to the SR of Serbia" and that all this cannot be interpreted any differently than as "an inpermissable punishment for a positive policy and a lesson for one leadership (of the SR of Serbia), along with a lack of criticism of another policy and a kind reaction to another leadership (the untouchable Kosovo LC Provincial Committee)."

The LCY Central Committee Proved Its Own Existence [subhead]

An article in yesterday's edition of Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE entitled "The Defense of its own Legitimacy," states among other things: "Perhaps at this moment it is really not possible, as one of the participants in the discussion claimed at the last session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, to answer with certainty the question of whether the LCY exists, although the LCY Central Committee has proved its own existence. Along with all the reservations that it is possible to have about one thing or another that was said or that happened at the plenum, the indisputable fact is that the LCY Central Committee did what was possible at that moment, in order to retrieve its lost positions in the political life of the country and its reputation in the eyes of those people whose leadership it would like to be...." "It could even be said," writes OSLOBODJENJE, "that it has 'returned the blow' to the forces of terror, arbitrary condemnation, and name-calling; it has publicly announced that it has no intention of being easy and certain prey to every pressure, only because its hands have been tied by its compromised members. It has also publicly announced its resolution to break with people in a humane way, regardless of why or how they leave. It has resisted the denial of its own existence, faced with the horrifying possibility that after every LC session a greater or smaller number of LC members would be called to account or condemned only because they said one thing or another at a session, that they thought aloud, or that they said something that did not quite please everyone." At the end of the commentary, OSLOBODJENJE concludes: "Therefore, it should not be forgotten that not only ballot papers remain after the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, but also a jointly adopted political document. Those of us in Yugoslavia who will not rejoice so much over the fact that some people are losing and lament more because some others are winning are in the majority."

The First Lines of Reform Are Being Written [subhead]

Under the title "A Pyrrhic Victory," Belgrade NIN also deals with the results of the secret ballot at the last plenum. Claiming that it was "certain" as early as Monday, the first day of the 17th session, that only Dusan Ckrebic would not get the sufficient number of votes, NIN writes that Ckrebic would not get the votes "only because he is a Presidiums member who comes from Serbia and because this would demonstrate to the Serbian leadership and the Serbian people that they were "completely surrounded by a coalition"..... "The reason is more than simple: Dusan Ckrebic, along with Slobodan Milosevic, Petar Gracanin, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Borisav Jovic, is the politician who expounded the most after the 8th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the new policy of the Serbian leadership. Ckrebic has borne the brunt only because the powers of the LCY Central Committee cannot extend to the other "leaders" who are exponents of the new Serbian policy." Commenting also that "Ckrebic was not rejected for reasons which could originate in his personality," NIN claims: "The reasons lie in the policy of Serbia, which he bravely supported in the party leadership" and concluded: "Be that as it may, the Yugoslav party leadership will have to realize one thing: Only authentic representatives will be able to represent Serbian Communists. Ckrebic has become one of our rare politicians who has been 'rejected,' but to whom people in the street will take off their hats. That was the Pyhrric victory of the LCY Central Committee."

In its latest edition, NIN carries another commentary entitled "The Minimum of the Maximum" which says, among other things: "In any case, the most responsible forum of the LC has come to the joint conclusion that if some people rebelled because they were called to account in one way or another, everyone has now realized that the entire Central Committee and even the LC as a whole has been called to account. This name-calling cannot be avoided, and neither is there anyone who could carry out the LC's tasks in its place. To a certain extent, it can be said: This was a collision between the leading political organization in the country and its historic role. It was inevitable that the perception of the importance of this role would be a serious matter."

An article in yesterday's edition of Novi Sad DNEVNIK entitled "The Person Instead of Abstract Aims" says: "The truth is, however, (and this is also admitted by Suvar) that criticism has again overruled self-criticism, particularly self-criticism which would have to have been levelled against one's own state and nation, one's own nationalism, and everything that is one's own." DNEVNIK also claims that one thing is certain: "During the 2-day discussion, the first lines of reform were written which place the LCY at the head of the movement for social changes and the renovation of socialism."

## FEC, SFRY Presidency To Hold Joint Session

*AU2510215288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 OCT 88*

[Text] The SFRY Presidency and the FEC will hold a joint session on Friday 28 October at which they will

discuss the current economic situation in the country. President Raif Dizdarevic is expected to present the Presidency's assessments of the current economic trends.

TANJUG points out that the very fact that the Presidency had decided to convene this joint session points to the seriousness of the situation in our economy. The session is expected to contribute to the search for the fastest ways to curb the economic crisis and for a gradual recovery of the Yugoslav economy.

### Focus on 'Economic Crisis'

*LD2510180088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1603 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav economic crisis will be the main theme at a joint session of the Yugoslav Presidency (the country's collective head of state) and the government of Prime Minister Branko Mikulic on Friday, October 28.

This will only be the third joint session of the government and the presidency in the past eight years since the collective presidency of the state was established. The first was held in April 1981, the second in November 1985.

At the session, President Dizdarevic is expected to make an assessment of the economic situation, burdened with a 20 billion dollar foreign debt, 217 percent inflation and living standards that have declined to levels of 20 years ago.

The economic crisis was debated in the national parliament and parliaments of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces, as well as at the 17th session of the Yugoslav party leadership.

### Draft Law on Economic Enterprises Submitted

*LD2510214088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—Under a new draft law submitted by the government of Prime Minister Branko Mikulic to the Assembly of Yugoslavia today, economic enterprises will again become a basic category of economic operation in Yugoslavia.

The new law would in fact annul regulations contained in the Associated Labour Act adopted in 1976, which atomized the Yugoslav economy and is partly to blame for the current economic crisis.

Enterprises, which were named "work organizations" in 1976, have up to now been divided into many small, completely autonomous "organizations of associated labour," frequently having conflicting interests. Changes in the associated labour act are one of the vital preconditions for a full materialization of the concept of the free market economy on which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia insists.

The draft law also envisages the possibility of setting up joint enterprises with foreign investors. The rights and obligations of foreign investors would be regulated by contracts.

Under the new law, the managerial and self-management functions would be separated and a managerial board would have full powers in conducting business, managing the production process and representing enterprises. The organ would report at the end of each year to the workers' council, which would retain its responsibility for the overall management of the enterprise.

Under the draft, it would also be possible to open private enterprises, as well as enterprises with mixed forms of ownership, where citizens-investors would be shareholders.

### Confidence Vote Shows Importance of Leadership

*AU2510173888 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Oct 88 p 5*

[Vlado Slamberger commentary: "About the Party Vote of Confidence and After It"]

[Text] The secret vote of confidence in the 10 members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on permanent assignment to this executive political body means a new page in the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY. It was an expression of the will of the party grassroots—which were most vociferous in the LC of Serbia—and it also drove home the first lesson. The vote contributed to the renewed importance of the political leadership (which was expected by many) as one of the conditions for effective political work. Because of incessant criticism, suspicions, and a feeling of impotence, the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium has lately been rendered almost impossible. The outcome of the vote made it known that nobody in the Presidium (and we hope in other leading bodies, too) could be sure of a careless incumbency from one congress to the other.

Visibly shaken, Dusan Ckrebic took a moral step, as could be expected from every member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium who failed to win a vote of confidence: He stated that he was resigning. Up to this moment, everything was on the level that was to be expected from the highest political leadership.

Such a respected citizen and political worker as Branko Mikulic was among those who were surprised and astonished at the result of the vote. After a loud and clear explanation of what it means if somebody fails to get the necessary votes in a secret ballot, Mikulic's public question—whether Dusan Ckrebic can remain a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium despite the vote of no confidence—was unexpected. In the rush, while making the additional decision to vote publicly—he

signed his ballot—Branko Mikulic obviously ran out of time to find out about the provisions of the LCY Statute or to listen to explanations about the expected voluntary moral act.

Vasil Tupurkovski's speech was also incomprehensible to some people. To proclaim the outcome of a secret ballot for the defeat of a republic and the victory of an unprincipled coalition is probably out of harmony with the responsibility of political leaders in Yugoslavia and in the world for what they say in public. Ckrebic's 68 votes were not a defeat for the SR of Serbia (foreign media were more accurate yesterday when they assessed it as the first defeat for Slobodan Milosevic's policy), but were, we believe, an expression of disagreement with some moves by the Serbian political leadership, whose supporter Dusan Ckrebic is. Vasil Tupurkovski overlooked the fact—which as a politician he should not have done—that Radisa Gacic, until recently secretary of the Presidium and the other representative of the LC of Serbia in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received a full vote of confidence for his Yugoslav party views and activities. To proclaim the lack of confidence in Dusan Ckrebic as a victory of an unprincipled coalition only means, whether it was wanted or not, public support for the invented thesis that the former parts of Austria-Hungary (Slovenia, Croatia, and Vojvodina) joined in a secret coalition (malevolent people speak about a plot) against greater Serbia, and some people link this "coalition" with the supporters of "great Albania" in Pristina. Surely Vasil Tupurkovski's speech should not be understood as the beginning of an election campaign; we must not forget that the new president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium in June 1989 will come from the LC of Macedonia (according to the present membership, it will be a choice between Vasil Tupurkovski and Milan Pancevski). The new president of the Yugoslav party will give the keynote for the preparations of the 14th LCY Congress, which should be held in June 1990 or at the end of next year.

How will the events in the LCY Central Committee Presidium develop? Will the leadership of the LC of Serbia—whose membership unanimously posed the question of confidence in the LCY Central Committee Presidium—insist that suddenly the Central Committee (after such a result of the vote) is not the proper body in which a vote of no confidence against the members of its executive political organ could be decided? Must this really be the grassroots at large, as Slobodan Milosevic indicated at the 17th LCY Central Committee session? Or will the Serbian leadership understand this lack of confidence as another call to reason, for a real implementation of the reforms, and for the calming down of the political situation in Yugoslavia, which in some places is near boiling point and which has caused us tremendous political, moral, and economic damage?

We can only join in Viko Hafner's call, the call of a tempered and honest communist, who warned that the LC of Serbia may reach unity in negatively assessing the secret vote by the LCY Central Committee, but the consequences of such a reaction will be felt by everybody: the Central Committee and its Presidium, the LCY, the LC of Serbia, and Slobodan Milosevic himself. Vinko Hafner thus clearly indicated where the responsibility lies for any further development of events in the LCY; it does not lie only in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium.

The shock that some people felt when the will of the party grassroots was taken into consideration and when, to many, the outcome was unexpected must be overcome. A vote of confidence or no confidence, which until yesterday was seen as a surprise and something peculiar, should be a normal content of daily political (and wider social) life tomorrow.

## LCY Plenum Displayed 'Responsible Wisdom'

*AU2510120888 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Oct 88 p 1*

[Bozo Kovac "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Another Chance for Politics"]

[Text] It was not all as we would have wished in the present circumstances. We are teetering too close to the brink for the LCY Central Committee at its 17th session to indulge in garrulous discussions with comparatively few new suggestions and proposals. Of course one can understand it. So many grudges and difficulties have piled up in the past few months that it was not possible to avoid a rendering of accounts and bargaining. It is also understandable that facts did not always do well when they disagreed with the at one time flexible, but by now rather ossified pictures of a better world. Some people have simply been in power too long.

It is possible to excuse a great deal, for the LCY Central Committee has displayed much responsible wisdom. It did not kill any work horses, but, in a clearer manner than all the political executive organs, it made it known that it will not change the foundations of the Yugoslav federal edifice and that it will not support any such activities. Nevertheless, it wants to change much in the house, especially in the attic, or perhaps even do some rebuilding. This is probably why it shows its firm determination to change many people in the federal party leadership. The class aspect would not be satisfied by people who would simply reflect our present poverty in its most extreme form. Priority should be given to those that have demonstrated that they possess firm and progressive views, a developed understanding for others and for those that are different, and much knowledge, but also personal resourcefulness, so that they are not sunk in grinding poverty while thundering against those who, even in the poorest communities, knew how to provide a decent life for themselves and for their working neighborhood. Of course the principles should be of a society that wants a truly socialist self-management and not just a front covering bureaucratic arrogance.

The results of the session will not be displayed at once in Kosovo, in higher pay, and more democracy, but they could be displayed in a cultured dialogue, better cooperation between the leaders that have quarreled in public or in private, support for the reforms in specific measures, and in greater respect for personal, group, private, and all other kinds of incentive to do something good for the ravaged and impoverished state and the people in it.

## Vasilevski on Threat to Soldiers in Slovenia

*AU2510143488 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Oct 88 p 5*

[Vlado Slamberger "Political Reportage" article: "Are the Murderers Among Us?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Colonel Vojislav Vasilevski, member of the LCY Central Committee [title as published] does not agree with anybody being different—we have gained the right to be different in almost all fields of social life and work—but he respected the suggestion by the working Presidium at the 17th LCY Central Committee session and submitted his speech in writing.

Dr Vojislav Vasilevski had much to say about the Slovene views on the trial of the four in Ljubljana and the trial of soldier Bogataj. He wondered why there was such national resentment and shame in Slovenia that the trial in Ljubljana was conducted in Serbo-Croatian. It should also be clear to Slovenes that neither the military juridical organs nor anybody else in the Yugoslav People's Army has any reason for, or derives any benefit from, mounting such processes. The speaker wondered why there was such resentment at Serbo-Croatian when there was no objection whatever to the peaceniks in Bohinj using exclusively English. After mixing up to some extent "Bavcon's world" (Dr Ljubo Bavcon, professor of law at Ljubljana University] with "Bavcar's committee," [Igor Bavcar of the Ljubljana Human Rights Protection Committee] Dr Vojislav Vasilevski concluded his statement as follows:

"The above-mentioned Ljubljana committee derives its arguments from statements by convicts and psychopaths, whose pictures are carried in the youth press. The question arises as to why this committee has no interest in defending the rights of endangered Yugoslav People's Army personnel and other southerners who are threatened by genocide. Most of the physical attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army personnel—30 percent of the total number—occur in a community where they talk most about a legal state and a cultured dialogue."

In Slovenia, we admit the right to different opinions, which is one of the elements of democracy, but the second element of democracy—the first one of cultured dialogue—is precision. This requires that matters be called by their proper name. The Slovene dictionary—and probably also the Macedonian—explains nicely that genocide means killing, slaughter, or destruction of a racial group. I admit that I have been living in Slovenia for 55 years, but I have not yet heard that Slovenes were killing Yugoslav People's Army personnel (like Hitler committed genocide against the Jews) or other "southerners," as Dr Vojislav Vasilevski contemptuously calls his fellow citizens. It would be good if the well-known and respected members of the LCY Central Committee would somewhat revise his speech, after his colleague Nebojsa Tica provided him with an opportunity to do so by citing data that show hundreds of negative occurrences in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as regards attacks by ethnic Albanians on the Yugoslav People's Army personnel.

## Slovene Presidency on Civil Disobedience Call

*LD2510201788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 25 Oct 88*

(Text] Ljubljana, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Demands and calls for civil disobedience by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights are leading citizens to commit irresponsible acts and to take the law into their own hands. The members of the Committee should assume full responsibilty for such acts, it is stressed in the stands of the Slovenian Presidency which yesterday considered the statement by this "Committee."

At the same time, the Presidency rejects such conduct by the Committee and advocates a consistent enactment of constitutionality and legality in the firm belief that only this has public support. In its 19 October 1988 statement, the "Committee" says, according to the Presidency, that Borstner, Jansa, Tasic, and Zavrl would not respond to the summons to begin serving their sentences. Therefore, the "Committee" will, when the summons are delivered, convene a protest gathering and a permanent sit-in, and also will protect the four sentenced from being forcibly taken to begin serving their sentences. According to their duty, the competent Slovene state organs, the Presidency underlines, will observe the Constitution and the law, and will oppose anything that could upset the public or that calls for people to commit criminal offenses. In the Presidency's view, such irresponsible moves by the Committee do not contribute to the further democratic development of our society. The Slovene Presidency therefore considers it necessary to warn all working people and citizens of Slovenia to take a critical view of the Committee's calls and to respect constitutionality and legality, as well as the institutions of the constitutional system.

The public has been informed, the Presidency adds, that the Slovene Assembly has, at a republican Presidency proposal, decided to form a group of delegates tasked to examine all the legal issues and the social and political circumstances in which the trial at the Military Court in Ljubljana was conducted.

## Slovene Assembly Views Constitutional Changes

*LD2510225188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 25 Oct 88*

["The Slovene Assembly Discusses Constitutional Changes"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Work on and discussion of constitutional changes have affirmed that it is possible in the SFRY to reach agreement and that in the process it is possible to respect arguments for the rights of republics and provinces and also promote the desire to seek common solutions which are acceptable to all. This debate represents a significant step in democratizing social activity and especially promotes the role of the public as a factor in controlling and directing the work of legitimate social institutions. [passage omitted]

Explaining to the delegates [at the Slovene Assembly Session] how the work on harmonizing the amendment on financing the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] has proceeded, Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly, stressed that the Slovene Assembly has never objected to the proposal of the SFRY Presidency to secure the long-term and stable financing of the Army. On the contrary, the Assembly itself has advocated such a solution, but it has warned that this solution should not lead to changes in relations with the federation nor reduce the responsibility of the republics and provinces for financing the YPA as the common armed force of all the nations and nationalities and of all working people and citizens.

Explaining all the controversial amendments on which agreement has been reached in the SFRY Assembly, Potrc claimed that the stances of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia have been fully accepted, either explicitly or in principle.

Potrc then informed the delegates that the representatives of the Slovene Assembly in the SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission have conveyed the Slovene Assembly's stances in a responsible manner while the genuine results will be forthcoming at the vote by the Slovene Assembly at its session on 22 November when it will decide whether to approve the proposed amendments. Potrc maintained that all the reasons exist for the Slovene Assembly to approve each of the proposed amendments as well as the text of the constitutional changes in its entirety. [passage omitted]

Addressing the Assembly, Joze Knez, vice president of the Slovene Assembly, said that it is certain that there are strong forces in society which are preventing the positive affirmation of people's lasting desire for a more efficient society. But the reforms are now turning against these forces and unless we anticipate this opposition we will come up against the same obstacles.

The reform deals with the key issues which are essential for economic efficiency within society, Knez said, highlighting, among other things, borrowing without repayment conditions being applied, unproductive unemployment, unprofitable investments, etc.

The period during which we are embarking upon the reform is a very unfavorable one because the standard of living is falling and people expect urgent measures, a change in the leadership, and changes in the institutions. The vast potential of these initiatives, however, is not being focused on raising production. Therefore, there is a lack of consensus about the reform. The institutions in society have gained autonomy and have become pressure groups promoting their own partial and local interests. Thus, the marriage between excessive aspirations and modest potentials becomes very difficult. [passage omitted]

Two new bodies were established in the Slovene Assembly today: the group of delegates of the three chambers to examine the circumstances and consequences of the trial against the four in Ljubljana, and the commission of the SR Slovene Assembly to supervise the legality of the work of the state security service.

These bodies were formed and significant changes were introduced in the Law on the Internal Affairs of the Slovenian SR, as well as changes in the jurisdiction of the Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order of the Slovenian SR, after the trial at the Military Court in Ljubljana and following the republican Assembly delegates' demand at the last two sessions.

The group of delegates is to research and assess all the circumstances in which the proceedings before the Military Court were initiated, and especially whether the setting up of the trial was influenced perhaps by the alternative opinions of the accused on some key issues concerning the conception and functioning of our system.

It should also be established whether the actions of individuals and organs infringed on constitutionality and law and whether their responsibility for this has been established. The group of delegates is bound to submit a report on these together with the proposed political assessment to the chambers of the Slovene Assembly. The assessments of the responsibility of the organs, services, and individuals, if any infringment of constitutionality and law is found, should particularly be included in this.

Aleksander Ravnikar was elected chairman of the group of delegates and Slavki Sorsak will be chairman of the commission for supervising the legality of the work of the state security services. A council of the Slovene Presidency for the Protection of Constitutional Order has been established which will function in place of the former Council of the SR Slovenia for the Protection of Constitutional Order.

The Executive Council of the Slovene Assembly today passed an initiative to the Slovene Assembly to change the third paragraph in the Law on Military Courts which relates to the regulation of the issue of the language used in court. The original intention of considering this initiative under urgent procedure was abandoned and it was instead left to ordinary procedure. It will be considered at the November meeting of the republican Assembly.

### Slovene Press Council on Attacks on Slovenia

*AU0510174988 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Text] The Press Council of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia held a session in Ljubljana today. Among other things, it discussed economizing programs in the daily press, the radio and television; and programming, and technical and economic cooperation between the radio and television and local radio stations. The main point on the agenda concerned reports in the public information media about the present social situation. It dealt with the numerous attacks on Slovene politicians and institutions during the past months. Marjan Rogelj reports:

This is certainly one of the worse errors made by a part of the Yugoslav public information media [words indistinct]. This is a media war which, like any war, has trampled upon all humane (?and sacred) principles, particularly because criticism of public information has been almost completely denied in such peculiar fields as interrepublican (?relations).

This is a behavior that is socially dangerous and unacceptable, that already has had (?serious) consequences and nobody can say how many more it may have. (?What particularly causes concern is) not individual articles or broadcasts, but the fact that this has become or is becoming editorial policy in some media. We live in a time when we should talk frankly and present arguments (?on) our own thinking and on understanding political and other events in the country, but (?we are attacked with) suspicion and the will of the stronger is being imposed, as some people in Yugoslavia now feel stronger, [words indistinct]. We have in mind the attacks on Slovenia, and we must not be tolerant toward them.

A part of the Yugoslav press creates a completely distorted picture of our republic. In this way it misleads a number of readers who lack objective information (?to make proper decisions). One should ask why, and on whose behalf, are such (?distorted views) presented. The answer could be somewhat fuzzy, but it should not be so, and the Press Council expressed a clear view that one should gather all professionalism, knowledge, and expertise so that the truth about us would finally come through and so that many imagined disputes would be resolved.

Several suggestions were made in the discussion on how this difficult but necessary action should be carried out. We must form firm foundations with the help of which we will assess the work of public information media. We must consciously strive for mutual respect and consideration of differences. If we call for objective information at international conferences, should this not apply to our own backyard?

We have the obligation to inform the Slovene, the Yugoslav, and foreign public truthfully, and we have the great task of drawing attention to the faults of all those who are a kind of vanguard in the ranks of journalism [words indistinct].

All the attacks cause uncertainty and instill fear that people in general will adopt the same methods, which of course would lead to more prominent nationalism, as if there were not enough nationalism elsewhere in the country. Everybody will have to do his share so that this insensible and poisonous Gordian knot may be cut. We will not allow our desires and strivings to be interpreted in such a comprehensively incorrect way; they are creative and constructive, and are our essence and life.

### Kosovo Polje Meeting Protests 17th LCY Plenum

*AU2510163888 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Oct 88 p 1, 6-7*

[G. Bajrami, R. Demiri, R. Tahiri report: "The LCY Central Committee Showed Unity on Kosovo"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday morning, about 15,000 - 20,000 Serbian and Montenegrin citizens from Kosovo Polje, Pristina, Urosevac, Gniljane, Titova Mitrovica, and other parts of Kosovo gathered in the yard of the Kosovo Polje elementary school in order to protest and express their dissatisfaction at the conduct of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum, which allegedly did not fulfill the demands and hopes of the Serbs and Montenegrins. Yesterday's gathering was organized by the so-called working committee to monitor the proceedings of the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum which had been formed at the time. Also present at the gathering and on the dais were former members of the Council for the Organization of Serbian and Montenegrin Gatherings, with its chairman, Mico Sparavalo. In contrast to earlier gatherings, there were no slogans at yesterday's meeting, apart from two or three expressing support for the Serbian LC Central Committee, and a large cloth banner portraying the monument to the "Heroes of Kosovo" with two peonies [commemorating fallen Serbian warriors at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, whose blood, according to legend, blossomed from the earth in peonies], and a text with the lines "Kosovo is the heart of Serbia/Its unhealed wound/Its blood, its prayer/Its memory, and its cradle." The flags of the SFRY and the SR of Serbia were waved at the gathering, and some participants draped themselves in flags. There were photographs of Comrade Tito, while those of the leaders of the SR of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, Petar Gracanin, and Borisav Jovic, predominated. The crowd sang the usual songs from such meetings, most often the song "Who Lies and Says Serbia Is Small?" with a chorus differing from the

version published in certain newspapers, which ran: "It is not small, it is not small/Three times it has fought/And will again, and will again/If God decrees it." The most common shouts were "We will not surrender Ckrebic," "Traitors," "They sold their souls," "Thieves," "We want Slobo," "Down with the coalition," "We do not want the traitors," "Down with the armchair politicians," "Let us go to Belgrade," and so forth. As usual, there were people in the crowds wearing traditional Serbian and Montenegrin caps. Order was maintained by people from Kosovo Polje with red armbands, even though the security services were also present.

Major Responsibility Will Be Demanded [subhead]

At first, contact between the masses and the leaders could not be established, although activists from Kosovo Polje appealed for the meeting to start and for attention to the social and political leaders who had arrived. They asked for their speeches to be listened to; then agreement or disagreement could be expressed, but they should not be judged without a hearing. The mass of people refused to consider such a thing, began to leave the schoolyard, shouting "Traitors," "We have nothing more to hear," "We will not surrender Ckrebic," and so on, and headed for the railroad station. After great efforts, and appeals over loudspeakers, Mitar Balevic, president of the Kosovo Polje LC Action Conference, appeared and begged the masses to listen to the speech of Dobroslav Bjeletic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Bjeletic began by greeting the gathering in the name of the Serbian LC Central Committee and of Slobodan Milosevic (shouts of "Slobo—freedom") and asked for order, as always. The crowd then shouted "We do not want Orlandic." Bjeletic told the crowd that he spoke in the name of those they did want, and then went on to say that this gathering is being held at an extremely difficult time. Your demands are ours, and we will fulfill them. The Serbian LC Central Committee has called to account all those individuals who are not up to their duties. Accountability will also be demanded in Kosovo and its Provincial Committee, but allow us to carry it out according to the statutory norms. The goals you laid out are being attained, the constitutional reforms are being carried out, and Kosovo will become a constituent and integral part of Serbia. (The crowd shouted, "We will not surrender Ckrebic") We too, and not only you, will not surrender Ckrebic, Bjeletic continued (shouts of "Down with the coalition"), and emphasized that we have never relied on groups and coalitions, but on the people, and that victory will be achieved according to working people's demands. For this, your help is now necessary, so that we will not retreat at this decisive moment, Bjeletic concluded.

Stevan Marinkovic from Kosovo Polje addressed those present, and spoke about the difficult situation in Kosovo and the position of the Serbian and Montenegrin population. He then read out the telegram that had been sent from Kosovo Polje to the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum, which, he said, was not read out at the plenum, but was treated like all the other telegrams. Marko Orlandic later explained that the telegram had been handed with other material to every LCY Central Committee member. Marinkovic said that if the demands of the telegram are not met, then we will all go en masse to the LCY Central Committee.

Marko Orlandic: A Decisive Struggle for Yugoslavia Is Being Waged in Kosovo [subhead]

Addressing the assembled citizens in Kosovo Polje, Marko Orlandic said:

As you know, after the very serious preparations for the 3-day session of the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum, we concluded the proceedings with the approval of the "Immediate Tasks for Overcoming the Unfavorable Political, Economic, and Social Situation in the Country." As, I believe, you have seen yourselves, the Central Committee in its analysis and approval of conclusions has rightly devoted great attention to the serious situation in Kosovo and the need for the fastest possible stabilization of the political and security situation in the province, correctly considering that this is of decisive importance for the stability and destiny of the whole of Yugoslavia.

We are united, he said, in the view that the present position of non-Albanian citizens in Kosovo, and Serbs and Montenegrins in particular, is intolerable and unacceptable for Yugoslavia, the LCY, and for all of us. We have considered in a critical and self-critical fashion everything that has prevented us from halting and rendering impossible the ever more aggressive activity of the nationalists and separatists in the ranks of the Albanian nationality. We are united in the view that this has been a result of inconsistency, opportunism, appalling bureaucracy, and lack of responsibility both in the LC and among Communists in bodies and institutions of the political system of socialist self-management, first of all in Kosovo, but also in Yugoslavia. I wish to assure you that the Central Committee has shown its unity in all its key assessments and duties, and that it will not permit differences, either in assessing the present situation, or as regards the methods of our further activity toward overcoming it. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item at this point]

Differentiation as a Permanent Method [subhead]

Talking about ideopolitical differentiation in the Kosovo LC, Marko Orlandic said that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee has the task of also carrying out this differentiation in the Kosovo LC organization, among Communists of administrative bodies and other institutions of the system, and especially among those who are in positions of leadership. They must establish a clear dividing line between those who have been opportunistic and have wavered, or who have become encrusted with the rust of bureaucracy and have become deaf to the reasonable

appeals and outrage of the people, and for this reason have lost their trust. Differentiation will be carried out among those whom it has not affected in the last 7 years, although it should have done. In the future, it will be applied as a permanent measure, and a constant weapon in the struggle to enforce responsibility, constitutionality, and legality, in other words to effectively and consistently carry out definite policies. [end of boxed passage]

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity, in the name of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, to call upon the Albanians of Kosovo to join the Serbs and Montenegrins and all others in rising to the defense of their rights and freedoms, their personal security and integrity, and their human dignity, and to prevent, through their own efforts, the attacks of the Albanian nationalists and separatists. If we talk objectively, it is they who bear the greatest responsibility and the greatest patriotic duty for this task. Yugoslavia is also their homeland. They have acquired their full identity in Yugoslavia, enjoy every freedom and every right alongside all other peoples and nationalities. Many schools, colleges, universities, an academy of science, scientific institutes, and imposing economic enterprises have been established in Kosovo. The workers' class has been formed, and self-managing socialism introduced. Cadres from Kosovo have been, are, and will be in key positions in this country, and this is an expression of the total equality, democracy, and humane interpersonal relationships that characterize the new socialist Yugoslavia, and of which we all—Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Albanians, Hungarians, and all others—may be proud. These fruits have become our common property and we must determinedly defend them together.

History Cannot Be Changed by Meetings [subhead]

History cannot be changed by meetings. It is changed by people in action, and is molded by social circumstances. After this meeting, it is our task to guarantee both the first, and the second. You have been patient beyond measure. But now, after the clear standpoints that have been issued and its strong determination to stand firm in the policy of the LCY and of the whole of society, the LCY Central Committee demands a little more patience from you, so that they may show that Kosovo must be the best possible testimony of trust in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and all institutions of the system from the communes, to the province, Serbia, and the federation, so that we may halt and conclusively shatter the plans of the counterrevolution. The LCY Central Committee demands of you that you should bear in mind what is being done now, and help us with your steadfastness and your activity in the struggle for new human and democratic relations, and for the brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and nationalities. You can only do this by remaining here, in your age-old home.

Therefore—do not on any account emigrate, because that is exactly what the separatists want. Neither our dead ancestors nor our future descendants would forgive this. Neither Yugoslavia nor history would forgive you. Neither would history forgive us all, all Yugoslavia, if we were to abandon you, and fail to protect you against all forms of attack, and if we did not succeed in enabling you to wage, together with all the citizens of Kosovo, without distinction of nationality or religion, a determined battle with the help of the entire country to shatter the dark plans of the counterrevolution and all those who seek to misuse your grievances in order to compromise LCY policy, and the fruits of our glorious revolution and of socialist construction. Go forward as one body, united, to fresh battles. Let your children go to school in peace, your young people and teachers to college, working people to their jobs, and farmers to their fields. Let us return to normal life and work in Kosovo, and let us respond decisively and together to all kinds of duress, however minor. May you take that necessary step that will enable us to all then take new steps forward together, Marko Orlandic said in conclusion.

In the afternoon, Zoran Andjelkovic and Milomir Minic, executive secretaries of the Serbian LC Central Committee, addressed the assembled crowds in the afternoon. The gathering of Serbs and Montenegrins supported the conclusions "that representatives of these nationalities from throughout the province had in the meantime prepared." In these conclusions, it was demanded that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should insist upon the resignations of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium within 5 days, and that the Serbian and Montenegrin members of this presidium should tender their resignations immediately, so that the solution of the Kosovo issue may be embarked upon. The security services were called upon to ensure the normal schooling of Serbian and Montenegrin children, and, if they could not achieve this, they were to be held to account and dismissed.

At part of yesterday evening's protest gathering, some of those who appeared on the dais said that a so-called "Council for the Self-Defense and Survival of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija" had been created, which, it was said, is to visit Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Presidium, in Belgrade and inform him of their program and demands.

After this part of the protest gathering concluded, the citizens dispersed. However, a number of the participants, amounting to several hundred, set off toward the railroad station, and certain others passed to and fro between the school and the station in two or three trucks carrying the flag of the SR of Serbia, and sang the song "The Trumpets of Kosovo," the song about Slobodan Milosevic, and "Kosovo, land of Dusan/We will never give it to anyone." Several dozen people, in spite of the insistence of members of the former organizing council that they should not do this, wished to set off from the railroad station to Belgrade.

**Kosovo Program Commission Chief Replaced**
*LD2510163688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Pristina, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—At a session of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today, Rabit Redzepi was relieved of his duties as chairman of the provincial Commission for the Implementation of the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo. This was done at his request as Redzepi himself explained, as a result of his being too busy in other posts.

Raif Vrbnica, president of the Chamber of Associated Labour of the Kosovo Assembly, was elected the new chairman of the Assembly Commission for the Implementation of the Yugoslav Program on Kosovo.

**Kosovo Assembly Sees Area Security as 'Serious'**
*LD2510114388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 25 oct 88*

[Text] Pristina, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The provincial secretary for interal affairs of Kosovo, Rahman Morina, assessed at today's joint session of the Assembly of this province that the security situation in Kosovo is very serious and that it is characterized in particular by the further exacerbation of international relations and national divisions. This situation is contributed to in particular by the strengthened activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists and pressure from them on Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from Kosovo.

Morina stated that since February this year the distribution of 529 pamphlets and the writing of over 85 slogans from positions of Albanian separatist nationalism had been recorded. The security service had uncovered a month ago two new illegal groups occupied with this activity. Morina also pointed to activity from positions of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism.

**Kosovo Assembly Discusses Security Situation**
*AU2510170988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] The security situation in Kosovo is still very difficult, with a tendency toward aggravation, particularly in the sphere of disturbed intranational relations. This assessment was made by Rahman Morina, provincial secretary for internal affairs, at the session of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

Rahman Morina pointed out that propaganda activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists had suddenly increased. Security service members registered the distribution of over 500 leaflets [as heard], which is 1,300 percent more than last year. Two illegal hostile groups whose activity was aimed at destroying the constitutional setup were discovered a month ago. Separatists are trying to achieve the greatest possible intranational confrontation, are advocating the use of weapons, and spreading untruths about the alleged unequal position of Albanians in Yugoslavia, and in doing so they have ample help in anti-Yugoslav propaganda from neighboring Albania.

Former political convicts, the majority of whom have not changed their political views, represent a special problem, Rahman Morina said. They constitute one half of the members of hostile groups.

The situation in Kosovo is also aggravated by Serb and Montenegrin nationalists who are trying to abuse protest meetings. Their aim is also to increase hatred among the nationalities in Kosovo. Their activity is carried out through written and verbal propaganda, Morina said, and added that 40 slogans from the position of Serb and Montenegrin nationalism have been registered during the last 2 years. Six hundred reports on misdemeanor and 100 reports on criminal acts from these positions have been filed since 1982.

Of 150 criminal acts committed during first 9 months this year, 130 were against Serbs and Montenegrins. Nearly 200 attacks against Serbs and Montenegrins have been registered since the 16th LCY Central Committee plenum.

Thirty-seven murders, 57 attempted murders, 15 rapes, and 24 attempted rapes have been registered in Kosovo. Most of these acts have been perpetrated among ethnic Albanians.

Rahman Morina pointed out that the militia can offer prevention, but not a cure, so he called for broader activity by the citizens in the struggle against the enemy. He advocated the proper education of children, in order to snatch them from the clutches of hostile indoctrinators.

The debate on constitutional changes which has deepened national divisions also affects the security situation in Kosovo, Morina said.

There was no debate on the security situation in the province. The delegates of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly discussed the situation at the university and the draft law on the budget.

The Kosovo Assembly relieved Danilo Vasic and Abdulah Hodza of their duties as members of the Kosovo Presidency.

**Kosovo Press Comments on 17th LCY Plenum**
*AU2510132088 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Oct 88 p 2*

[G. Bajrami commentary: "With Democracy Against Every Blockade"]

[Text] The 17th LCY Central Committee plenum, which had been long awaited with great interest by the public, concluded its 3-day session the evening before last.

During these 3 days, the topics most discussed were the LCY's immediate tasks and duties in confronting the unfavorable political, economic, and social situation in the country. However, the other items on the agenda were also followed with great interest, especially those dealing with concrete steps to carry out the conclusions of the LCY Conference, the creation of a commission to transform the LCY and create a basis for the reform of the LCY that will assist its operation under contemporary conditions, the approval of criteria for the renewal of cadres in the LCY and its presidium, and the vote of confidence by secret ballot for those 10 members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium who remain following the acceptance of the resignations of its four other members.

Of course, a vote of confidence in its own Presidium, as a political step, was essential for members of the LCY Central Committee under the present circumstances when unprincipled forms of pressure are exerted and unsupported attacks are mounted against the LCY Central Committee Presidium, something which has no doubt encumbered the normal operation and work of this executive - political body and its members. Another step was to set criteria for the renewal of cadres in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, criteria that will permit the renewal of up to one third of its members; this task is expected to be accomplished within 6 weeks.

In analyzing the speeches delivered at this plenum, one gains the impression that there was an expression of unity and a high level of awareness of the need to mobilize creative energies in order to consistently implement the three reforms announced at the LCY conference: the reform of the economic system, the reform of the political system, and the reform or transformation of the LCY. The three reforms in essence involve the thorough reform by which our self-managing socialism will begin to overcome the crisis that confronts our society. Many speakers, with their readiness to respond to the questions of why we find ourselves in the present situation, what the platform of renewal should be in order to ensure the further development of socialism in our country, and what steps should be immediately scheduled in order to carry out the three reforms, had the democratic alternative as their common denominator, as the sole guarantee of breaking out of every kind of blockade. Certainly, with the warning that Yugoslavia can only exist as a true federation of equal peoples and nationalities and in the common interests of all working people and citizens, this plenum acquired an all-Yugoslav direction.

The majority of members of the LCY Central Committee pointed out that total unity in strategic issues is necessary, and unity was enjoined at this plenum. It is for this precise reason that the LCY Central Committee cannot, either now or in the future, assume the role of an inciter of crisis, but must be in a position to offer a way out of the crisis and to truly harness the broadest creative forces throughout the country to its positive program. There is justifiable concern over the political, economic, and social reality in our country, but this does not give anybody the right to attack the fruits of our revolution, the achievements and personality of Comrade Tito, or the LCY, which is ready and able to lead all the progressive forces of society into the future. Many speakers made this observation, and it is said that many of the 550 messages and telegrams received between 7 September and the start of the 17th plenum, and the 1137 that arrived during the 3-day session, also said the same. The demands for an end to public confrontations and unprincipled polemics among members of this body, and also among republican and provincial leaderships, and also to attacks and unsupported criticism of some cadres, which were heard from the overwhelming majority of those who took the floor, and also stated in the texts of those who presented their speeches in written form, were understood to be a call for a return to reason and to true unity of thought and deed in the specific work of each in his own environment, in order to combat everything that prevents our forward progress to a common future. In this context, there was stressed the need not to underestimate any form of nationalism and or any form of destructive activity, whether on the part of individuals or groups. The tendency not to see one's own nationalism is nothing other than toleration of nationalism.

The situation in Kosovo was an inevitable issue in the opening and closing speeches of Dr Stipe Suvar. It can be said that greater unity was expressed, not only in the assessment of this situation and of its nature and importance, but in demands for responsibility and for the further enactment of the duties stemming from the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY Central Committee plenums on Kosovo. The achievement of greater unity in the LCY Central Committee over the Kosovo problem provides a firm foundation for the further work of the LC and other progressive forces in confronting unfavorable political, economic, and social trends. This is all the more important when it is realized that the situation in Kosovo is reflected throughout the country, and vice versa.

## Pristina Daily Criticizes LCY Presidium Session

*AU1410144188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1039 GMT 14 Oct 88*

[Text] Pristina, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—In an article referring to the joint session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, Pristina JEDINSTVO notes in its issue today that old assessments and theses, uttered who knows how many times before, were repeated at this session, along with "spicy" remarks addressed to other leaders outside the province, of some other republics and the country. For instance, one did not fail to observe that the deterioration of the situation in Kosovo had been particularly visible at a time when one talks about the greatest involvement of the LC of Serbia in solving the problems in the province (Azem Vlasi). Such theses, the newspaper adds, which run along the line, "Everybody is guilty except us," are increasingly present in speeches made by some Kosovo officials.

This was also present during this joint session whose purpose has not been fully vindicated. If the intention was to contribute to a calming down of the situation in Kosovo and the country with such a discussion, now, 2 days after the session, one can assert almost with certainty that such an effect was not achieved.

We cannot shed the impression, JEDINSTVO says, that there are some individuals in the LCY Central Committee Presidium who are not ready, and perhaps not willing, either, to engage in a resolute struggle against negative occurrences in society, and above all, against the activities of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, who skillfully exploit the indecisiveness, vacillation, and opportunism in the LC and its leaderships.

## Federal Secretary Denies Hindrance Claims

*AU0710135188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 88 p 1*

[TANJUG report: "There Were No Obstructions or Hindrances"]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not in any way hinder, or obstruct, the criminal proceedings initiated by a group of veterans against Fadilj Hodza and others.

This was stressed today in a statement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Information. The statement also stressed the fact that on 21 October 1987 the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs forwarded all the available information on the persons mentioned in the criminal charge to the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia, and the state security service.

Arbitrary Claims [subhead]

The statement denies claims made by Dimitrije Kocovic at a recent working session of the Kosovo Veterans Section attached to the Belgrade Veterans Organization. According to some newspaper reports, Kocovic said that the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs did not allow criminal proceedings to be initiated against any of the mentioned people, and that he blocked the criminal, well-founded charges of a group of veterans against Fadilj Hodza and others. By doing this, by protecting the counterrevolution's leadership, Kocovic also claimed, the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs has abused his official position and is therefore directly responsible for the continuation of the counterrevolution and the suffering of Serbs and Montenegrins.

Assessing these claims as arbitrary on the basis of an examination of all facts, the statement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Information adds:

"On 24 June 1987, a group of veterans filed through their lawyer in Belgrade criminal charges against Fadilj Hodza, Dzavid Nimani, Veli Deva, Ismail Bajra, Mahmut Bakali (all from Pristina) and Ilija Vakic from Belgrade, for committing criminal offenses on the basis of Articles 114, 116, 128, 133, 134, 136, and 137 of the SFRY Criminal Code. On 17 July the same year, this group of veterans filed additional charges to the district public prosecutor in Belgrade.

"Acting on the basis of the above-mentioned criminal charges, on 13 August 1987 the district public prosecutor in Belgrade forwarded, according to Article 153 point 2 of the Law on Criminal Proceedings, the charges to the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia—the department of the state security organs for the City of Belgrade—asking the Secretariat to check the allegations stated in the criminal charges, and to gather evidence needed to assess the content of the charges.

On 27 August 1987, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia—the department of the state security organs for the City of Belgrade—presented in its document s.p. [expansion unknown] 5206 the demand of the District Public Prosecutor in Belgrade to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and requested that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs inform the Republican Secretariat whether the federal secretariat possesses specific documentation about the cited persons, so that it could reply to the demand of the District Public Prosecutor in Belgrade.

To Carry Out One's Duty [subhead]

On 21 October 1987, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, according to the s.p. [expansion unknown] number 19570/3, presented the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia—the state security service—with all the available information. The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs thus carried out its duty.

From the time the available material was presented until today, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has not been asked for any other details or information in connection with this criminal charge, nor has the Federal Secretariat been given any information concerning this case.

This means that the actual state of affairs shows that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not in any way hinder or block the criminal proceedings involved in the charge against Fadilj Hodza and others. On the contrary, at the demand of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia, the Federal Secretariat promptly, on 21 October 1987, presented the details that it had at its disposal regarding the persons to whom the aforementioned criminal charge relates. The announcement of the Federal Secretariat for Information states that therefore the claims which in this case are based on inaccurate information and which attempt to show that the federal secretary for internal affairs and the federal secretariat "were, by protecting the leadership of the counterrevolution, directly responsible for the continuation of the counterrevolution," are among other things politically harmful and dangerous.

## Albanian Youths Arrested for Firing Shots

*AU2510195988 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] The unit of the Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat stationed at Kragujec offers complete security for people and property to the Serb and Montenegrin inhabitants of the village of Prekalje, in Istok Commune. This was proved when the unit's patrol identified the unemployed youths Mestar Mulla and Sefedin Jonuzaj, from the village of Isnec in Lipjan Commune, only a few minutes after an incident in which they had caused concern to the inhabitants. Three nights ago, at 2215, they fired a revolver in the air twice in the street in the village of Prekalje. The magistrates court at Istok sentenced them to 6 days and 10 days imprisonment respectively.

## Montenegro Assembly Session Held

*LD2510234488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Excerpts] Titograd, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—All state and political organs in Montenegro have been called upon to re-examine their method of work in order to create conditions, in the coming period, for the successful implementation of new development projects and to speed up efforts to emerge from the social crisis, said Bozina Ivanovic, president of the Montenegro Assembly.

Our society, Ivanovic stressed, is going through one of the most difficult periods in its development. Recent events in some parts of the country have posed a serious threat to the system and its functioning, are a sign of deep internal crisis, and are fraught with the danger of disrupting constitutional order. [passage omitted]

The economic and social situation in the country continues to deteriorate: industrial production has declined, the economy has been impoverished in a dramatic way, inflation has assumed galloping proportions, and prices continue to rise while a rapid fall in the standard of living has exceeded the limits of tolerance. All this has led to a state of social tension and to shocks. Wastefulness and inefficiency characterize our work. Capacities are underused. The Yugoslav federation and its organs are not functioning successfully. Decisions on all-Yugoslav problems are being made slowly and with difficulty.

In the country's political life, Ivanovic noted, mass protest meetings have come onto the scene recently primarily as meetings of solidarity with citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Kosovo. They have [words indistinct] the situation in Kosovo and about the shortcomings displayed by the organs in Kosovo and elsewhere in the country in fighting counterrevolution. However, groups and individuals have appeared at these meetings who aim to use the meetings for their nationalist and other goals that are alien to socialism.

Our attitude toward these meetings and rallies was and is a positive one since, besides all else, they are in line with the democratic principles enshrined in the Constitution. In other words, the rallies and meetings organized in line with these principles and the existing regulations are and should be a part of our political life. However, we were and still are against these meetings and rallies being organized by groups and individuals and by various committees from outside the republic.

[Passage indistinct] In light of our previous experience and the lessons learned so far in the struggle to suppress the counterrevolution in Kosovo, Ivanovic stressed, our activity must continue to be intensive and resolute in order to ensure the consistent and efficient fulfilment of the tasks in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, continued activity by Montenegro's representatives in all federal organs in connection with these issues, and decisive and efficient action against Albanian separatists and nationalists in Montenegro.

Montenegro's top state and political organs are also committed decisively to fighting all burgeoning nationalisms in the country. Here in Montenegro this struggle is directed primarily against Montenegrin nationalism and we are determined to persevere in it. At the same time, we count on all other parts of Yugoslavia to undertake an efficient struggle against their own nationalisms, above all.

Ivanovic went on to speak about the current political and security situation in Montengro.

Despite all the efforts and measures already taken, including those called for by the workers and students at the last meeting in Titograd, the economic and social circumstances in the republic remain exceptionally difficult and dramatic. They provide the main reason for the justified dissatisfaction of workers, the working people and citizens. They stem directly from the unfavorable political, economic, and social trends in the country and the failure to implement the declared policy at the federal level. This has been the cause of a growing feeling of uncertainty and fear among the working people and citizens over their own fate and that of Yugoslavia. There are increasing demands for greater unity of the political and state leaderships of the country and for their more efficient and decisive activity.

The largest share of responsibility for the present situation in the country lies with the most responsible organs in the federation and in the republics and provinces. For years they have been unsuccessful in building up the unity necessary to bring about changes in the system and in economic policy. This has hampered the process of pooling within the Yugoslav economy and has reduced efficiency in economic operations.

[Transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 5-8 not received]

Even after receiving financial assistance, some firms continue in their old way. Such behavior has led to the current protests, dissatisfaction, and reliance on external factors that is justified from the social welfare point of view, but not as far as labor and production are concerned. There is a dilemma now about whether the financial support provided had any purpose and whether it yielded any results at all. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted; TANJUG parts 10-12 not received]

Marinko Bulatovic expressed his conviction that the republic's leadership had been taken by surprise over the events in Niksic and Titograd, and that it it had not been prepared for what happened. He supported the intervention of the police in Titograd and Niksic and stressed that the security service had been very successful in performing its duties since not a single worker or student was so much as touched with a truncheon. In his view, not one of the resignations offered should be accepted, since they were tendered under duress and out of anger. [passage omitted]

Momcilo Cemovic described the situation in Montenegro as being the most difficult since the war. Only in 1948 could one see security forces in the streets and on the roofs of buildings 24 hours a day to prevent unrest, as has been seen in recent days. On no other occasion has the issue of confidence in the most responsible organs in the republic been raised. It is obvious that all this cannot be interpreted as yet another step in democratizing social relations, but as resulting from the complex situation in which we find ourselves, he noted. [passage omitted]

There are many reasons for concern, Nikcevic said, in a country that, in contrast with civilized and integrational trends all over Europe, is approaching disintegration and Balkanization, that is on the way to becoming a confederation and the once-united communist party of which has become an alliance or coalition of republican and provincial LC's. The fundamental achievements of our revolution have come under attack, our brotherhood and unity gradually are assuming the form of a "measured togetherness," while delegations from twinned towns cannot visit each other unless permission is obtained from republican bureaucracies, Nikcevic warned. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon session of the work of the Montenegrin Assembly, Delegate Pavle Bulatovic raised the question: Why are attempts by workers and people to decide on the most important social issues, even if this includes the question of confidence or the removal of the leadership, regarded with suspicion? For years, he said, the party, state, and other organs and forums, as well as individuals in top positions, have been talking about the very serious position in almost all areas and verbally expressing self-criticism because of this, but when this is repeated at protest meetings by workers and other broad popular strata, this is proclaimed as a street reaction, illegal putsch, and so on.

Bulatovic called for accountability for the urgent measures taken and the intervention of the police against workers and students, stressing that there has not been sufficient reason for such measures to be taken. [passage omitted]

Luka Djurkovic stressed that the workers taking to the streets do not represent a danger to Yugoslavia, nor in fact do the groups of those who for other reasons abuse the protest meetings. The workers, he said, are seeking a better and happier life and the preservation of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia. Was this the reason for the use of force? Djurkovic asked and turned to the republican officials present with the words: You who decided to use force against workers and people supposedly to preserve peace, security, and constitutional order, did not do the right thing. In fact, your assessment and action was bad. Comrades in your leadership position you have done yourselves great harm because in using force against the workers and trying to convince them at the same time that this is in the interests of the people, is incomprehensible, he said. Djurkovic then demanded that the resignations of Radivoje Brajovic and Lazar Djodjic be adopted.

Miomir Radunovic of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs stressed that the service has carried out the decisions of the compenent organs, acting extremely cautiously and carefully.

The accusations and criticism in the public against the service and its secretary are unjustified. This is particularly contributed to, Radunovic said, by certain public information media with their tendentious and untruthful depiction of the actions of the police. [passage omitted]

The debate lasted almost 12 hours, and then, also at the joint session of all three assembly chambers, the discussion was opened on the resignations of Radivoje Brajovic as member of the Montenegrin Presidency, and Lazar Djodjic from his position as republican secretary for internal affairs.

This evening the assembly is expected to take a vote of confidence in the Presidency of the republic, the president and vice president of the Assembly, and the president and members of the republican Executive Council.

## Vote of Confidence in Government

*AU2510215388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] We have just received a report that the delegates of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly expressed confidence in all the members of the Presidency of the republic and all [as heard] the members of the Montenegrin Executive Council in a secret vote held short time ago.

### Executive Council Resigns

*LD2510232388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2248 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Titograd, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of Montenegro this evening submitted its irrevocable collective resignation before the delegates of all three chambers of the republican Assembly.

The Council decided on this step after the vote of confidence in all the members of the council in which five of them did not receive the necessary number of votes of the delegates of the republican Assembly.

Explaining the decision on the collective resignation, the president of the Council, Vuko Vukadinovic, stressed that under circumstances when a quarter of the total number of members of the Council did not obtain the vote of confidence of the Assembly, this organ is not able to carry out its function as it should.

The delegates decided not to take a stand on this resignation this evening.

### Further on Resignations

*LD2510235988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2312 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Titograd, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The delegates of the Montenegrin Assembly took a vote of confidence this evening in the members of the Republican Presidency, the president and vice president of the Assembly, and the members of its Executive Council, and they also voted on the resignations of Radivoje Brajovic, member of the Montenegrin Presidency; and Lazar Djodjic, republican secretary of internal affairs.

In a secret ballot, a vote of confidence was not given to only five members of the Republican Executive Council: Momcilo Martinovic, Bozidar Lakic, Miodrag Dubak, Vukola Vasiljevic, and Lazar Djodjic.

Following this outcome of the voting, a session of the Executive Council was held at which the Council decided on collective and irrevocable resignation.

Explaining this decision Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council, stressed that the Council had called on the Assembly to take a vote of confidence in that organ and each of its members individually. Since a quarter of the total number of Council members did not receive the necessary majority of votes, and some received only a narrow majority, this outcome in the voting must be seen as a severe criticism of our work, Vukadinovic stressed, adding that he considers that in such circumstances the Council cannot carry out as it should the very important tasks put before it.

Although the president of the Executive Council, Vuko Vukadinovic, twice insisted on acceptance of the irrevocable resignation of the republican government, at the proposal of several participants in the debate it was decided that the delegates would not take a stand this evening on the resignation tendered.

### Serbian Presidency Member Recalled by Assembly

*AU2510115088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] The Serbian Assembly session is devoted to three serious subjects. At the joint session of all three chambers, delegates have heard two speeches on the social and economic development of Serbia for next year and a report on the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo.

During the open discussion, Slobodan Vucetic previously briefed (?some delegates) on changes to the Serbian Constitution.

This session has received a letter from Ljubinka Trgovcevic, member of the Serbian Presidency, which informs the assembly delegates that she is resigning from this post. The reasons for this action are, as Ljubinka Trgovcevic says, the methods used for achieving joint aims in the republic's clash with her interpretation of democracy and responsibility for the future of the people. At the insistence of the delegate Milos Laban, the majority of the delegates agreed that in this case Trgovcevic could not be relieved of her post but would be replaced. In line with the procedure, the ballot on this replacement will be secret.

### More on Recall

*LD2510214188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1948 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, October 25 (TANJUG)—In an unprecedented move, the assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today recalled Ljubinka Trgovcevic from her post in the republican Presidency.

By a secret vote, the parliament rejected Trgovcevic's offer to resign as member of the republican state leadership. 210 members voted for the recall and 54 for the resignation.

In an explanation to her resignation, Trgovcevic said that the "ways and means of implementing common goals in the Republic of Serbia over the past year have not been in conformity with her concepts of democracy and responsibility for the furture of the nation and the country."

A process is underway in Serbia, which has two autonomous provinces—Vojvodina and Kosovo—to establish complete statehood throughout its territory through changes in the constitution. This was not the case so far, since the 1974 Constitution permitted the provinces—although formally parts of the republic—to take over some of its functions.

Riots broke out in Kosovo in 1981 and since that time Albanian separatists and chauvinists have been trying to destabilize not only the province, but also Yugoslavia. They demand an ethnically pure Kosovo and over 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the province in the past seven years under their pressure. At present, about 90 percent of the Kosovo population are ethnic Albanians.

Over three million citizens of Serbia and Montenegro took part in protest rallies in these republics to demonstrate full solidarity with Kosovo's non-Albanian population who have been deprived of their rights. The rallies urged both the state and party leadership to seek those responsible for the Kosovo tragedy among their own ranks.

### Serb Assembly Says Kosovo Scene 'Worsening'

*LD2510231288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2200 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province of Kosovo is not subsiding, the political and security situation in the province is worsening, while the tasks adopted for its improvement are either being slow in implementation or their implementation is long overdue, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia assessed today.

Delegates to the Serbian Assembly stressed that the republic has invested enormous efforts to settle the situation in this autonomous province within Serbia, but the present constitutional powers do not enable it to deal fully with the problem.

The need to settle the situation in Kosovo is a reason why the Serbian leadership, within the framework of the current constitutional changes in the country, demands that Serbia (which is the only one of Yugoslavia's six republics which comprises two autonomous provinces) should be made equal with the other Yugoslav republics. Without state competences over its entire territory, Serbia will not be able to resolve the Kosovo problem, the delegates maintain.

Serbian Vice-Premier Milutin Milosevic said that Kosovo authorities were to blame for the deteriorated situation in the province. He pointed up a sharp division on a national basis in the province, where the Albanian nationality is in the majority, and an unceasing activity of Albanian separatists.

In Milosevic's view, the only correct standard in the evaluation of the situation in Kosovo is the pace of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under Albanian separatists' persecution. Figures show that 1,433 members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nations have left the province in the past eight months (there have been 30,000 emigrations in the past seven years), which clearly indicates that the crisis is not subsiding, he said.

The delegates to the Serbian assembly demanded that the question be raised of total responsibility for Kosovo, from the commune to the federation.

### Serbian LC Confirms 1987 Expulsions

*LD0510201088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Summary] Belgrade, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—The Serbian LC Statutory Commission today confirmed by majority vote the decision of the Belgrade LC City Committee of 26 November 1987 on the expulsion from the LC of Radmilo Kljajic, a former Executive Secretary of the Presidium of the Belgrade LC City Committee for Information Dissemination. His attitude toward the LC was said to have come into conflict with LC policy. The same commission also confirmed the expulsion of Spaso Andjelic, a former chairman of the "student" publishing council, from the Belgrade LC City Committee.

### SAWP Body Speaks on Serbs in Romania

*AU2510204388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] The Coordination Committee for Relations With Religious Communities of the SAWP of Serbia has discussed reports on the situation in the Budapest and Timisoara eparchies, that is, the position of the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church in neighboring Hungary and Romania. Here is a report by Azra Nuhefendic:

It seems that the complaints by the world public about Romania's intention to relocate villagers from and to raze 8,000 villages that include Serbs among the population, will change our inexplicable indifference toward the problems of our minorities in neighboring countries. Members of the Coordination Committee for Relations With Religious Communities of the SAWP of Serbia had a discussion on their agenda of the position of the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Romania and Hungary. Of course, the mention of all members of Serbian minority was inevitable since their position has been aggravated in Romania in particular.

Not only is there no reciprocity in the treatment of national minorities between our country and neighboring countries, but there are also serious problems that are to our detriment. There is the danger of Serbs in Romania being assimilated. The use of their language and script is forbidden to them. They cannot use Serbian names for villages, for instance, and even the church seal is not done in Serbian script.

It would have been incorrect to say that nothing is done in our country to improve the position of these people, but even the little that is done is done mostly by the Serbian Orthodox Church, which has had no proper support from state organs.

The members of the coordination committee are of the opinion that the SAWP, together with the corresponding state organs, should incite the urgent solving of this problem, since the basic point is that not only members of our minority are threatened but also the great cultural treasure in churches and monasteries.

The committee also discussed the harmful and ugly changes to some old national customs. Large amounts of money—billions of dinars—are wasted on weddings, funerals, christenings, and other occasions, and even absurdities such as seeing people off to prison. Members of the three largest Serbian confessions call on the people to obey original customs and use the money for more practical purposes.

## NOVA MAKEDONIJA on Confidence Vote

*AU2510134288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 88 p 7*

[TANJUG report on NOVA MAKEDONIJA commentary on the 17th LCY Central Committee session: " 'The Vote of Confidence Has Not Eliminated Doubt'"]

[Text] Skopje, 22 Oct—Judging by the end of the scenario which underwent changes in its plot and denouement on the actual stage, the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee did not bring about a miracle but it did something else: It partly laid its cards on the table, writes today's NOVA MAKEDONIJA in a commentary by Vladimir Tulevski entitled "The Vote of Confidence Has Not Eliminated Doubt."

The outcome of the vote of confidence clearly showed why there had been hesitation over whether to approach it or not, why several members of the Central Committee requested that the vote not be in secret, and why the members of the SFRY Presidency Lazar Mojsov and Stane Dolanc attempted to use their authority to exert influence.

Everything became quite clear to those who had not understood the background to all this when Vasil Tupurkovski pointed out that one republic had lost and an unprincipled coalition had won. This was also then confirmed by Vinko Hafner with a warning that was aimed at Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, about the possible consequences of a possible confrontation with the Serbian LC.

If, after the 17th session, it continues to be shown and confirmed in practice that coalitions and dishonest games exist and if revanchism and counterarguments begin, then the LC and the SFRY will then be in an even more serious situation which will threaten more openly and tangibly than ever before the democratic survival of the country as a whole. If in all this there is something that can bring us to our senses, writes NOVA MAKEDONIJA, and cure political blindness and unrealistic ambitions for some other Yugoslavia which is different from the one in which there is egoistic conduct and a search for a solutions through "forcing" one's own interests, then this would be a vote of confidence in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. If disunity is demonstrated through faction, group, and personal battles and blows, then it will be discovered who the culprits are and where they are to be found.

They themselves diverted attention from the 17th session's discussion in front of the whole of the Yugoslav public. They will bear historic and not personal responsibility for the destiny of the country, concludes NOVA MAKEDONIJA, which considers that the session nevertheless had the characteristics of a congress but did not reply to the daily demands of the workers class for bread and justice.

## Macedonian Assembly Debates Economic Policy

*LD2510192588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Skopje, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The delegates of the Macedonian Assembly today were unanimous in their assessment that the standard of living in the republic has declined drastically. The rise in retail prices and the cost of living are too severe and are becoming intolerable, creating social tensions and a pronounced social stratification of the population. There are large divergences from planned estimates and a further fall in the standard of living is intolerable, so both economic and social policy measures that will overcome the existing state of affairs are essential.

According to Metodija Nestorovski, a representative of the Macedonian Executive Council, only Macedonian exports are registering a high growth tendency, even in conditions of a fall in production. The trade deficit has been reduced from $3.16 million in 1985 to $2.03 million this year. The degrees to which imports are covered by exports has increased from 63.4 to 76.6 percent. The position is particularly favorable in the convertible currency market.

It was stated in the debate that the implementation of the economic-financial consolidation program for the Macedonian economy, which program embraces 161 organizations of associated labor and 6 banks, has yielded a favorable overall effect of 216 billion dinars.

Small businesses in Macedonia are achieving noteworthy development. Since June 1987, more than 3,600 private-sector businesses have been registered. Programs of productive employment also are being carried out on the basis of employment loans. By August this year, 182 investment projects were approved, which will facilitate the employment of more than 10,500 new workers.

Delegates also noted that the high growth in prices is negatively affecting reproduction and the practical implementation of economic policy tasks.

It was stated that the Macedonian SR will be entering the coming year with a serious burden of economic problems. It is necessary further to encourage economic activity and the growth of exports by means of restructuring the Macedonian economy.

## Croatian SAWP Committee Discusses Security

*LD0610091188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 5 Oct 88*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—As part of its activities, the Croatian SAWP's Coordination Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection today discussed some current questions of security in the republic. It stressed a demand for negative processes in society to be solved more quickly by the uncompromising action of all subjective forces and with the widest possible mobilization of working people and citizens. In the discussion, committee members paid special attention to the ever more open attacks on the personality and work of Comrade Tito, on the ACNLY [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations of Yugoslavia, and on the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA). They particularly underlined that the problems in Kosovo are being solved very slowly.

Committee President Eduard Cencic asked about the purpose of these current new discussions on whether or not there is counterrevolution in Kosovo. It is there; this is clear to the majority of our working people and citizens who follow what is happening there. It must be quite clear, Cencic stated further, where lies the distinction between activity within the process of democratization, which we support, and enemy activity. We are quite deficient when it comes to the struggle against the imposition of alien ideas and the activities of enemy forces, which we always must oppose energetically. In this context, he mentioned the demands of the self-styled committee attached to the Serbian Writers' Association, which tendentiously calls for a reassessment of the role and work of Comrade Tito. Alongside this, Cencic mentioned earlier similar attacks on Tito and the gains of our revolution by Various nationalists and by enemies of our federative socialist system, brotherhood, and the unity of our nations and nationalities.

At the meeting, attention was drawn once again to the recent decisions by the Presidium of the Croatian SAWP Conference on the Current sociopolitical situation and the immediate tasks of the Croatian SAWP, in which, it is said, the practice of more verbal support, wait-and-see attitudes, indecisiveness, forum work, political pragmatism, and sterile meetings must by replaced with concrete, immediate, and effective actions on solving the everyday vital issues of working people and citizens. [passage omitted]

## Army Chiefs Explain Views on Political Situation

*AU2610104788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22-23 Oct 88 p 3*

[Momcilo Djorgovic commentary: "Bureaucrats Without Military Protection"]

[Text] Will the generals enter politics without politicians?

This question has been asked by many people in the last few days because great political and social tensions have forced the collective heads of state to warn the public about the possibility of introducing a state of emergency if the political situation deteriorates.

It was probably not accidental that among the first speakers at the just ended "historic" 17th LCY Central Committee session's discussion was Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, the number one person in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. The fact that several other generals also spoke and that their speeches are now being carefully analyzed by the world is not an accident either.

The speeches made by the leading army members clearly showed at least three things. First, they are much more definite, critical, and liberal toward the latest events in the country and the long lasting crisis than many civilian members of the Central Committee. Second, they are much more oriented toward Yugoslavia and the federation. And third, they do not intend to interfere in internal affairs despite the fact that they have been tormented by a nightmare and bureaucratized politics.

The fact that they do not want a military intervention does, however, does not exclude the possibility that there are those who would in fact want the Army to step in and help impose either regional or some pseudo-general interests. These aspirations were pointed out by Veljko Kadijevic, who stressed that only the SFRY Presidency has the right to make a decision on the use of armed forces or some of its units. He also said that one must clearly qualify and energetically reject "all the recent attempts to introduce some other institutions of the system into the system of commanding the YPA, and in this way change the constitutionally determined nature of the YPA."

We wanted Col Gen Kadijevic to explain this remark to us in more detail. He observed that state institutions will react and reveal these attempts. On our further insistence he told us to read the newspapers. Because we continued to ask questions he mentioned "some" republican assemblies which would, in fact, like to have their own army.

In his speech Col Gen Kadijevic spoke about more and more pronounced attempts to influence army cadres in order to make them orient themselves according to narrower, republican, and provincial views, even views

that have not been been confirmed at the Yugoslav level. Kadijevic pointed out that one cannot accept these pretensions—which at the same time threaten the character of the Yugoslav federation—just because of the YPA's people's, revolutionary, and Yugoslav character.

The Militarization of Republics [subhead]

Judging by reports in our press, the demands for the YPA's regionalization are justified by the wish for greater freedom and for the abandonment of its alleged "occupying" character. One of Slovenia's top officials even revealed that there is a conflict between the YPA and the people. It appears that the public has not sufficiently realized that these demands are only pseudo-freedom loving, and are essentially repressive. The disintegration and territorialization of the YPA would only lead to the militarization of the republics. The miniature republican armies, which would be too weak to resist a real enemy from outside, would serve as an additional argument for internal quarrels or the defense of privileged positions. This would lead us into the trenches.

Therefore, despite the fact that there are those who would want to bring the Army onto the public scene (using fake demands for the demilitarization of society), both the federal secretary for national defense and other military "bosses" are resolutely against it. They emphasized that the Army is primarily an organization for the defense of the country from an outside enemy and for the protection of the constitutional order. All internal unrests, difficulties, and even destructive elements should above all be solved by political means and by eliminating the root causes of the crisis.

What is the main cause of the crisis for the top army men?

For Admiral Branko Mamula, it is the clash between the bureaucratic structures and the workers and people. On the other side of this clash and the crisis is the impotent LC, which is allowing time to go by and dissatisfaction to grow, dissatisfaction which has been turned into intranational mistrust and open clashes among leaderships. For Rear Admiral Petar Simic, president of the LC organization in the YPA, there is a clash between those who want to preserve the status quo and those who demand changes. He, too, critically observed that the LCY has allowed itself to face the crisis without a fully developed strategy, with an inadequate sociopolitical system, having little time left for its own transformation, and with the process of federalization and nonfunctioning of democratic centralism almost completed.

Col Gen Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the YPA, saw the reasons for many troubles in society and the LC in opportunism and in the avoidance of concrete decisions and actions. He was not pleased with the discussion at the 17th LCY Central Committee session because in his view it was too theoretical-philosophical and did not offer concrete proposals for changing the situation.

Who Will Shake Yugoslavia More [subhead]

Veljko Kadijevic saw the main trouble as the lack of unity in the LCY leadership concerning the causes and ways of surmounting the crisis. What particularly burdens the situation is, in his view, the fact that the political struggle for people's own stands leads to some kind of competition as to who will shake Yugoslavia more. Kadijevic, Mamula, and Simic said that 1 year ago they called for the reform of the LC, considering this to be the first and necessary step for all other changes. They were, however, criticized for having arbitration ambitions, supranational judgment, and for threatening legal institutions. Now, however, after 1 year, a reform of the party through cadre renewal has been imposed as a condition which cannot be done without, but there is very little time available and speed is now of the essence. In order for the LCY Central Committee to carry out its difficult tasks properly, the Army Communists stress that it should get its Presidium more involved by reducing its size and renewing the personnel.

It is believed in the Army that economic reform must be approached as soon as possible, primarily by instituting a modern market economy without the excessive fear of a restoration of capitalism. Then there should be an adequate, but also a realistic, social program which will make possible the transition to a market economy and will not threaten it. Finally, there should be a unified Yugoslav economic area. Mamula commented that nowadays it is difficult to speak about the essential conditions of the three reforms, but their realization is our only way out.

As far as Kosovo is concerned, the top army people believe that it took an unjustifiably long time to discover what is actually happening there. Not only the force of the Albanian nationalists but also this hesitation made this province the possible detonator for all anti-Yugoslav forces. General Nebojsa Tica pointed out that according to foreign estimates Kosovo has become the most sensitive point in the Balkans, where many political and military-strategic interests are intertwined. According to the assessment of the Communists in the Army, the decisions of the LCY on Kosovo have not become an integral part of the awareness of a large number of members of the leaderships of the party itself, and because of this a mobilization of honest and progressive ethnic Albanians in the struggle against Albanian separatists was lacking. Tica presented the view that the Kosovo LC in fact bears responsibility for the obstructions to creative energies and for the failure to break the counterrevolution. Instead of using unity and resolution to implement the established tasks, it fought about the appraisals of the situation; instead of working among the people, it worked in forums. The fact that between 1981

and 1988, 241 illegal groups were discovered, of which 1,600 ethnic Albanian members of the YPA took part, bears witness to the aggressiveness and extent of the aims of Albanian nationalism.

The Pressure of Rallies [subhead]

Admiral Mamula commented that the responsible organs and even the Presidency and the LCY Central Committee reacted more quickly to problems concerning Kosovo and the composition of the SR of Serbia under pressure from the rallies which, as he said, expressed justified dissatisfaction with the entire ineffectiveness of the LC and the state organs. General Mirkovic welcomed the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia because they better regulate the unity of defense.

Mamula did not see the rallies, meetings, and demonstrations of the people and workers as what some of the information media have stressed as "the unbridled masses," but as objective political reality which was created by the inertia of institutions and the nonfunctioning of the system. According to Admiral Simic, the Army Communists believe that several types of public gatherings have appeared on the political stage which cannot be assessed in advance without knowing their causes, motives, composition, organizers, and without assessing the consequences for the narrower and wider community. If these gatherings do not lead to destruction, they cannot be brought into question because the dissatisfaction of working people and citizens lies at their basis. The institutions of the system have not reacted promptly and adequately to the growth of this dissatisfaction. It is the task of the subjective forces to direct this energy in a positive way.

The basic message from the Communists in the YPA is: Things cannot go on in the way they have so far. There must be an end to the divisions.

With this message, they are expressing their solidarity with many civilian Communists, which best shows that there is no conflict between the people and the YPA. At the 17th session itself the Army "chiefs" showed the pointlessness of the cliche of the innate conservatism of the Army. The Army has in fact said that it will not guard a sclerotic bureaucracy and party opportunists who have with their inability "occupied" the country everywhere and to an equal extent.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Intelligentsia and Forums [subhead]

The Yugoslavia Communist Party/LCY was one of the rare Marxist parties ready for change. The LCY has not demonstrated such ability for a long time. The old leading guard has departed. The new zealous Marxist workers in the LC or most often outside it come into conflict with forums at which policy is justified. This is only because they do not agree with some current assessment or view in the leading groups or forums. Therefore we are unprepared when serious events occur. (Branko Mamula)

## Dragojlovic Criticizes Minority Treatment Abroad

*LD2510213188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1959 GMT 25 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 2 (TANJUG)—[Date as received] It is untenable that national minorities in Yugoslavia should enjoy all constitutionally guaranteed rights, while the same cannot be said for members of the Serbian or other Yugoslav peoples living as minorities in neighboring countries, president of the Serbian republican commission for relations with religious communities Dragan Dragojlovic stated today.

Commenting Romania's decision on a major village relocation campaign, which also affects Serb-populated villages, Dragojlovic expressed the hope that the initiative would not be seen through, as there has been an international reaction as well.

Dragojlovic also pointed to the problem of the preservation of Serbian cultural monuments and art works, noting that much more has been done in this field in Hungary than in Romania.

The commission decided that these topics be discussed at the appropriate committee of the federal conference of the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's biggest socio-political organization, and ask the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs to launch an initiative for a speedier settlement of problems relating to the position of Yugoslav national minorities in neighboring countries.

Delegates of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia today also inquired about the stance of Yugoslav's official organs on Romania's intent to create more space for agriculture, since Yugoslav minorities would be affected by the action.

## Presidency Sees UNGA Session as 'Step Forward'

*LD1310060388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 12 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—The 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York was a significant step forward in strengthening stability and peace in the world and creating conditions for deeper positive changes in international relations, the Yugoslav State Presidency assessd at its session here on Wednesday.

After hearing a report about the session from Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, the Presidency said that it reaffirmed the role of the world organization and particularly the Security Council, as well as the significance of their resolutions as a foundation for the settlement of topical international issues, especially the hotbeds of crises.

The Presidency also underlined that the fact that the majority of participants in the general debate accepted the stand that without resolving development issues it is not possible to ensure the necessary stability in the world was particularly important.

The nonaligned countries made a significant contribution to the course of the session by proposing a series of initiatives for the engagement of the United Nations and the movement of nonalignment in the tackling of key international issues, especially those relating to development.

### Loncar Briefs Assembly on UN Session

*LD1910221888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1517 GMT 19 Oct 88*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG)—The work so far of the U.N. General Assembly has confirmed that in international relations a desire for detente and a settling of disputes by means of a peaceful dialogue prevails today, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar assessed today.

Reporting to the Foreign Policy Committee of the Assembly of Yugoslavia on the U.N. General Assembly session, Loncar stressed that the U.N. contribution to positive trends in international relations, particularly in reaching solutions to crisis spots, has renewed the importance of the U.N.

Giving full credit to the big powers for contributing to the improvement of the international climate, Loncar, however, criticized them for being inadequately involved in settling the world economic problems, the indebted countries in the first place.

Loncar thinks that this subject will in future dominate not only the international scene, but give the basic characteristic to non-aligned activities.

Noting that half of 51 meetings the Yugoslav delegations had in New York was with representatives of nonaligned countries, Loncar conveyed their unanimous stand that the role of the 9th non-aligned summit host has been entrusted to Yugoslavia not only because of its great role in the movement, but because of good relations with a large number of countries, including both superpowers.

### Loncar on Foreign Policy Priorities

*LD2010090988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 19 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's priorities, among which are keeping pace with Europe, bolder inclusion in the world integration trends, and economic reforms, coincide with attempts to modernize the Nonaligned Movement. This was stated today by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for Foreign Affairs, who was speaking about the aims of Yugoslav foreign policy.

Reporting to the SFRY Assembly's Committee for Foreign Affairs about the progress of the UNGA session so far, Loncar said that this event was a true reflection of the improved situation in the world. He affirmed that in international relations today a desire for detente and the solution of disputes by peaceful dialogue is prevailing.

### Dizdarevic Receives EC President in Belgrade

*LD0710092588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1908 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, October 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic received European Parliament President Lord Henry Plumb today.

Lord Plumb is visiting Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

Dizdarevic and Lord Plumb discusses Yugoslavia-E.C. relations and expressed mutual interest and readiness to promote and develop cooperation through joint efforts.

### Mikulic Holds Talks With EC President

*LD0710091788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1550 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] Belgrade, October 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the European Community are interested in the further successful development of mutual cooperation, Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic and President of the European Parliament Lord Henry Plumb said in Belgrade today.

The strengthening of intergration processes in Europe and the establishment of a single European market after 1992 will open new possibilities for expanding E.C. cooperation with countries outside the community, including Yugoslavia, Lord Plumb said. He said special possibilities were being opened in the area of scientific-technological cooperation, research and development and the protection of the human environment.

Emphasising Yugoslavia's interest in being included in Europe's integration processes, Mikulic informed Lord Plumb of Yugoslavia's economic reform and its target of Yugoslavia's great inclusion in economic trends in Europe and the world.

## UN Envoy Conveys Stance on Cambodia Issue

*LD0710083788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 6 Oct 88*

[Text] United Nations, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—The undelayed withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea is a significant pre-condition for a successful resolution of the Kampuchean problem and the securing of its full independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as Yugoslavia's Ambassador to the United Nations Dragoslav Pejic said while convening Yugoslavia's stand on the resolving of one of the pressing questions of the present time.

Speaking at the first meeting of the recently founded committee of Non-aligned countries for Kampuchea, Ambassador Pejic underscored prince Norodom Sihanouk's significant role in the process of returning Kampuchea its sovereignty and emphasized his merits as one of the founders of the Non- Aligned Movement.

In addition to Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe, Algeria, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Laos, Egypt, Peru, Cuba and the Palestine Liberation Organization are members of the committee, which was recently set up at the foreign ministerial meeting in the United Nations.

At its first meeting, the committee lent support to the efforts exerted by the ASEAN member-countries in the process which began last July with the meeting in Indonesia. The meeting's aim was to find a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem wiht the participation of all Kampuchean factions.